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HISTORY AND MATERIALISM

I.

IS history losing its human character and interest? Is it becoming more and more a natural science, a mere record of natural causes and effects, less and less a story, artistic and dramatic, of what men and nations by dint of the will and might and coursing blood within them have now and again achieved? Is it no longer a humanity, a great human document, a stirring, living picture of what living, breathing, failing, and triumphing men are and do, but instead a gathering of just so many puppet illustrations from the manifold happenings and doings in human experience for some natural law or philosophical formula? Some people have detected such changes as these, and certainly the historian's growing emphasis on material conditions, on climate, geographical location, natural resources, and the like, would give color to the idea, while his resort to prosaic minutiae of all sorts, to statistics and to psychological laws, that seem human only through the accidents of association, would greatly deepen the color already given. In short, in the opinion of many, who appear to be at least not without some justification, history is in great danger of materialism, even of gross materialism. Moreover, its indifference to ethical values, which is surely increasing and which doubtless springs from the companionship, fortunate or unfortunate, of history with the natural sciences, is very often thought itself to be quite enough to make this opinion a conviction.

But materialism is an epithet that demands most careful scrutiny. It may be wholly just; it may be even unqualifiedly opprobrious; yet its easy use and its wide use at the present time, though possibly emphasizing its justice, at least suggest that there may be, if not

also that there must be, something besides opprobrium in it. Surely history has the comfort and assurance of a large company in its misery. Education, for example, is also charged with materialism; the mechanical arts are crowding the pure sciences, and the pure sciences the humanities and culture-studies; college presidents, instead of being the moral teachers and great spiritual leaders of fifty or seventy-five years ago, either are not filling their places or are hardly more than financial agents and business managers. Again, politics has lost its quondam patriotism and turned to individualism, that often becomes sordid selfishness, and to cosmopolitanism, that serves as an excuse for the declining devotion to country. Religion has set class against class, has made much of fine music and various other forms of sensuous display, very little of true piety, or, abandoning church and creed and ritual altogether, has turned in theory to nature and in practice to settlement-work, to slumming, and—with apologies to Professor Cooley and others for this use of the word—to “sociology”. Fiction is realistic even to the point of being sensuously offensive; problematic and prurient to indecency. Poetry, even if we forget the verse of Whitman, has abused its great privileges, turning freedom into flagrancy and license. And against them all, education and politics and religion and literature, as well as against history, we hear the people raising the alarm of materialism. Yet, as was said, a charge so easily and so generally made calls for close scrutiny, since a well-nigh universal fault may, if not must, have some praise mingled with its opprobrium. To say the least, all creatures, among whom I would boast myself one, who have an abiding faith in the so-called human “verities”, must believe that what is general or universal has some positive virtue in it, and in particular that this commonly resented materialism of history, so thoroughly up-to-date, so well in line with the movement of things all along the front of man’s experience, can be after all only the entrance of the human element in history into a rich and a full inheritance.

But materialism—what is it really? What is it quite apart from the hue and cry with which as an epithet it has been cast about so promiscuously? What is it, when relieved of the relative, partizan meaning from which, like any other epithet that has become a fad, it has undoubtedly suffered? I suggest the following definition. Materialism is the tendency, which may have all degrees of expression, in life or in thought to treat what is only a part as if in itself it were an independent, self-supporting, originally active, and originally constituted whole. Thus the great test for reality that materialism employs as it walks up and down the world hunting

for real things is what the logicians know as self-identity, but what here, not unappreciatively, we may call lonesomeness or isolation or touch-me-not existence; in a word, unrelatedness or the character of being and acting wholly to and in oneself. True, ordinarily, even by the sophisticated, the term materialism has been applied only to the lonesomeness, the lonesome reality of matter, but no term can ever be held, for its full meaning, to its ordinary application. Idealism, spiritualism, supernaturalism, are also virtually materialistic. The mere names which they have chosen to give to their selected protégés in the realm of reality do not avoid, they only very imperfectly conceal the real materialism of their standpoint. The head of the ostrich may be hidden, but more than enough is still left exposed to disclose the animal and its true character. God may be a "spirit", but if the spirit that he is is something off by itself, something independent and quite *sui generis*, being and acting quite to and in itself or when to and in other things then only miraculously and arbitrarily, and if what is material, physical, worldly, is wholly external to his spiritual nature, being at most or at best only temporal and mediate and dependent, then to all intents and purposes he is as material as the matter that so spiritually he, or his worshipers for him, would once for all reject. Again, man may have a "soul", but if his soul is, so to speak, only one more ingredient of his nature, only one more of the many things in his body, if it is, as sometimes considered, the peculiar, distinctly localized function of just one of his organs, say the much overworked pineal gland, then it too is physical in fact, whatever it may be in name, and the materialism which fosters it can even give points to the materialism which disdains its only verbal disguises. The hidden thing is always more flagrant than what is open and avowed.

So, as was said, materialism is the tendency, having all degrees of expression and, to add to the definition, having also all degrees of candor or concealment, to treat what is only a part as if in itself it were an independent, self-supporting whole. In illustration, this definition makes materialism include, among many other things, the miser's habit or anybody's miserly habit of taking the means to action for its end, and the spendthrift-reformer's habit or anybody's reckless if not fanatical habit of taking the end of action for its means; but it applies also to a standpoint, very general in its nature, that without mention might go quite unnoticed. Thus, over and over again men have obstinately regarded the whole of anything as if somehow it were external to its own parts. They have, for example, treated society and its individual members; nature—witness the doctrine, as often rendered, of natural selection—and all

living things ; reality, which is said to be absolute and eternal and all-inclusive, and the component parts of reality, which are only relative and transitory ; the personality of God and those human persons who are supposed to live and move and have their being in God ; finally, history and the people or the nations of history ; all these wholes, I say, and their parts they have treated as exclusive of each other, as representing different orders of being, as having different relations to space and time, to character and activity. Such a view, however, clearly comes under the definition of materialism, since it does but make the separate whole, the whole that like society or nature or reality or history is so distinct from its own constituent parts, only one more part in some still larger whole. Accordingly, to make the definition safely explicit, materialism is hypostasis of the part, that is, elevation of the part to the dignity of an independent whole, or—and in the end this comes to the same thing—hypostasis of the whole, that is, treatment of the whole as if it were something quite by itself, in short, as if it were only another distinct part.

And with this simple, yet certainly very inclusive as well as very significant idea of materialism in mind it is now possible, in the first place, to determine in just what ways the study of history may be materialistic, and then, in conclusion, to decide in just what measure the charge of materialism against the tendencies in the historical study of the present day can be sustained. Before entering, however, upon these two undertakings, let me say that I shall claim the privilege of being at times quite commonplace. Especially, I shall not be discountenanced or embarrassed if anybody is prompted to accuse me of attacking only straw-historians or only a straw-history. In general, straw-men, or at least men so described under the storm and stress of criticism, have in the past been attacked not without great profit, and in particular my own present interest is primarily a logical one. I am not taking up a cudgel against anybody or anything. The mere logic of a situation, however commonplace in some of its details and however apparently vain or empty in some of its implied criticisms, is to my mind always well worth careful formulation.

II.

So, to begin with the general question as to how under the definition history may be materialistic, I would mention and at greater or less length discuss the following marks. For the first, according to a popular idea, which even the professional, sophisticated historian has sometimes allowed himself, history is said, or, if not said, is supposed to repeat itself. Witness, not of course the real, but the

imagined, univocal use of such terms, so necessary to all historical study, as monarchy, democracy, individualism, labor, property, money, city, country, people, nation, and the like indefinitely. Down through all the ages these terms are often applied, now here, now there, with little if any regard to the qualitative variation that history can hardly fail to induce in all its incidents, in all the things to which the terms themselves refer. The historian, whose history thus repeats itself, will doubtless have a great variety of different elements out of which to construct his historical edifice, but he can produce at best only a scaffolding, not a real history, if he is blind to the truth—is it not a truth?—that here and there, now and then, on larger scale and on smaller scale are more than mere distinctions of space and time and quantity. To assume, then, that they are not more is plainly materialistic, since it is to give fixity, independence, isolation, to each and every repeating thing, to each thing and everything that is manifolded in space or time or that in its numerous manifestations has now one size and now another. What would we, nay, what do we think of the novelist whose characters only move about, get older, and become larger or smaller in body perhaps or in property or number of exploits, and then die or get married? We may not call him names, being—as always we should be—personally charitable, and being ready to congratulate him on the momentary increase in his bank-account, but his novel we call wooden. And with the same meaning an only self-repeating history, though compositely very complex and though put together with the ingenuity of a master-mechanic and though with samples of its peculiar wares in all sizes, we call materialistic.

Yet do not misunderstand me. I am far from intending to say that there can be no meaning in the idea that history repeats itself. Among others, Professor Gabriel Tarde¹ has succeeded in giving a very rich meaning to the repetitions or imitations of history, but his meaning and in general the meaning is not materialistic; also it is not the common intention of the adage, or the principle, that history repeats itself.

A subtle form of the historian's use of this principle has been his judgment of absolutism or wealth or progress or general prosperity or anarchy from some assumed standard, naturally the standard determined by his own life and time. Here, instead of the present being a repetition of the past, the past is taken, so to speak, as ideally, if not actually, repeating the present. The past is judged,

¹ *Les Lois de l'Imitation* (3d ed., Paris, 1900); translated into English from the second French edition by Elsie Clews Parsons: *The Laws of Imitation* (New York, 1903).

and in consequence is naturally found very much wanting, as if it could have been and so should have been what the present has become. In ethical judgments of historical periods this form of the offense, if offense I ought to call it, has been especially common and of course has been frequently recognized and ridiculed, but the judgments of such other repeating or recurrent incidents or movements as democracy, the labor question, centralization, empire, and the like have been given to the same practice.

The highly logical historian, moreover, who being formula-bound sees history as only a gathering of illustrations of the working of his special strait-jacket, is guilty of the same materialism; and so also is his counterpart for whom history is only a multiplication of facts that may have no other unity save their association in space or time. A history of merely numerable differences is not less a monotone than that of the logician's formula.

But, secondly, the history that repeats itself has usually if not always been also a history of the swinging pendulum type. Its repetition, in other words, has been double-striped: Religion and irreligion, prosperity and depression, government and anarchy, socialism and individualism have followed each other with commendable regularity and perfect rhythmical precision. Day and night have not been more regular nor, as most people regard their coming and going, have they made a more thrilling historical progression. Vibration such as this is doubtless a great thing and it shows a great law, but all the more, because it is vibration as well as repetition, it really changes that upon which it acts or through which it is expressed. A new day is the day past neither in its time or date nor in its content of life and event; the light that seems to return with its dawning is not the same and makes vision for eyes that are not the same. A return from socialism to individualism, in like manner, or from depression to prosperity, or from irreligion to religion, is always, so to speak, an advance, or at least a positive change, as well as a return. Even a pendulum never swings back to its old position. If it did, perpetual motion would be a possibility, and qualitative variation, which is as important in physics as it is in history, would become at once impossible. Moreover, the pendulum historian materialistically forgets, or is certainly very likely to forget, that both swings, both movements of the vibration, are bound to be throughout as coincident and as contemporaneous as day and night. The most that can be done, in order to keep them apart, is to distinguish between the visible and the invisible, the presented face and the antipodes of the globe of experience, the actual and the potential; yet, even so distinguished, they are constantly changing

places, and neither one, however hidden and only potential, can ever be unreal. Do real realities only take turns at being real? I suppose nobody enjoys paradoxes just for their own sake, but a pendulum-swinging history forces attention upon them. Thus, with a meaning that must be felt and recognized, just as back and forth or day and night are intimately involved in each other, both always real and active, both parties to one and the same unity of action, so in history government and anarchy, prosperity and depression, religion and irreligion, individualism and socialism, are actively present in each other; they are not the separate events of different years or decades or centuries. When any one of these movements is most apparent, say in the institutions of the day, then look carefully and confidently for its opposite. Even when the night is darkest the day prepareth; when the day is brightest the night cometh.

As a third source of materialism in history I would mention the disposition to explain great changes as "reactions". That the reactions of history are naturally incident to the vibrations and the repetitions hardly needs to be said, except in so far as it serves to indicate what on the whole is meant by a reaction. So often we are told that when things get so bad that they simply cannot get any worse, or so good perhaps that they have become unearthly and therefore unbearable, then a reaction sets in, the pendulum simply swinging the other way, and that with this change there appears what is purely negative with reference to things as they have been and positive only in terms of its own internal, self-centered making, but what at some earlier period had had a vigorous career upon the stage of reality. Thus the idea seems to be that a reaction in the first place wholly supplants something and in the second place without change or loss restores something else. Extremes, in other words, are supposed to beget their opposites—with all due apologies for the change of metaphor—out of a clear sky. Doubtless for such an idea there is some excuse. Is it not quite natural to identify the life of a society with its visible forms and establishments and through thick and thin to hold to the identification just so long as the forms and establishments appear to be unimpaired? And with this natural habit of mind when a change transpires, must it not seem sudden and reactionary, as sudden, be it said, and as reactionary as the revivalistic "conversion"? Again, is not the reaction, when it appears in power, impairing or even demolishing the forms and establishments which have stood so long, always the special labor of some distinct class or party? Accordingly must it not be as distinct and independent as the class that initiates and conducts it? Witness such commonplace illustrations as the French Revolution or the

injection of Christianity into a pagan civilization. What veritable "reactions" both of these were! Only—and here the error or at least the materialism of this standpoint is disclosed—these illustrations are too commonplace for a safe argument. Of all the reactions in history they certainly were not begotten out of a clear sky. Actual conditions never so naturally precipitated results as the conditions in France and Europe and the conditions in the Roman world precipitated those two great upheavals. A materialist may find only revolutions and only independent parties or factions carrying them on, but the facts are against his findings. Revolutions may be "reactionary", but also they are always evolutionary, the new which they bring being only an outgrowth of the old which it supplants, the manifestation of something that had been only implicit; and as for the parties that incite and direct them, suffice it to say that in society classes seem to exist only to expose each other's hidden ways, to make explicit each other's implicit thoughts and deeds, and that the factions which have managed revolutions have always learned all their best lessons from those whom they have attacked.

So, to resume the counting, a fourth mark of materialism in history is the idea of progress. I almost said the conceit of progress. At least what many mean, or think they mean, by progress is materialistic. Thus, consciously or conventionally, the historian is a perfectionist. Either he is actually conceiving or he writes and thinks of things in general as if he were conceiving a far distant goal of political peace, industrial integrity, and moral righteousness, say a heavenly kingdom to come, toward which a still—perhaps an always?—imperfect humanity is making its slow, so very slow, and uncertain, so very uncertain, pilgrimage. But why destroy the worth and power of perfection by such a hypostasis of it? Why, so materialistically, separate the ideal and the real, the end and the means of life? Again, the historian thinks, or writes as if he thought, history in its past achievements a record of mere eliminations and accretions, a growing out of and away from some things and toward and into other things. Possibly by so doing he compensates for the vibrations and repetitions that in themselves are so unproductive; one offense is often protected by another; but can a vital, organic history proceed in such a way? Also can such a process, however manifold its successive stages, have any substantial worth? Surely, if a man set out to walk from one town to another with a heavy load on his back and changed his burden at every cross-roads, no one would care very much whether he ever reached his destination. And, once more, the historian makes, or writes as if he made, invidious distinctions among the different periods of his history.

Consider the conceit, or the convention, of modernism, of civilization, of occidentalism, of the ism, whatever its full name should be, that glorifies the period of the supremacy of the life and people of the north temperate zone.

Consider also the more inclusive invidious distinctions between the present and the past or even between the future and the present. Perhaps no one thing is more the cause or source of these distinctions or for that matter of the general notion of progress than the well-known though frequently overlooked illusion of retrospection. Here, of course, is not the place for a psychological discourse on the perception of time or of the relations of the periods of time, but let it be said simply that the past of consciousness can never be the past of reality. No man can ever know the living past; one's very knowledge vivisects it to death; one's knowledge, too, not only makes it dead, but also renders it the mere storehouse of the present, the different values of its wares being determined only by their changing relations to interests that are more or less narrow and standards that are arbitrary as well as narrow in the life of the present. But, in view of these facts, how rash it is to derive an idea of progress from distinctions between the known past and the present! When the knowledge of the past and the peculiar characterizations that are its burden are, as plainly they must be, part and parcel of the progress, how strange it is to take the known past for the real past, and through such a confusion to get a case for a progress of things outgrown and discarded or acquired and for a time appropriated!

So often and so wisely the historian himself exclaims that with every new period, almost with every new year, history needs to be rewritten. And why? Because the visible past, materially and ideally, that is, as to its constituent data and as to its meaning or value, is as changeable a thing as the restless present that views it. How, then, can one outgrow the past? Surely only as, or if, he can outrun his shadow. In short, the materialistic idea of progress, what with its perfectionism, its eliminations and accretions, and its invidious distinctions, is not only materialistic; it is also very like a superstition. Certainly, if real at all and substantial, progress must be an ever-present and a wholly present thing; not something to be measured by a dead past or an unborn future, but instead something in which both past and future have their present living parts and so escape the ignominy or the flattery of the pharisaical epithets of less and more, worse and better, that a superstitious, unappreciative, self-deceived present would cast upon them.

But, fifthly, the period, era, or epoch, as usually treated, whether consciously or conventionally, is materialistic. Of course, this is

not to say that any one will seriously advocate a history of mere dates. Dated beginnings or endings of periods are no longer so much stressed as perhaps they have been in the past. Dates are now for man, not man for dates. The date-bounded period, or era, on the whole has lost vogue, if vogue it ever had, since materially and ideally it has always broken down its own fences. The ubiquity of the forerunner has been fatal to it. The certain growth of insight has given it only a relative value, turning its barriers into merely temporary structures set up merely as a means to new intellectual conquests over the domain of time. What has insight not done for the time-duration of paganism, Christianity, medievalism, modernism! Everything in history has indeed had its forerunner; and insight, discovering the universal forerunner, without destroying the significance of the periodic differences has made the periods themselves all but, if not quite, temporally coextensive, each period expanding to cover the whole duration of history. So much has evolution done, or is it doing, for a date-ridden history.

But the retirement of dates, or temporal boundaries, has not always brought escape from the merely date-bounded period. The ghost of the departed still haunts many a historical record, and any ghost that really haunts the life which its bodily progenitor is supposed to have left is always more than a mere ghost. In some rarefied form, a ray of moonlight perhaps or a gust of wind or a habit of mind, it still has flesh and blood. Thus the date-bounded period continues to haunt the study of history in the following flesh-and-blood ways; subtle, if you please, but real and concrete too. To begin with, merely to lengthen a period may bring escape from the letter, but it cannot in itself bring escape from the real spirit of the period that begins and ends with a date. It may, of course it must increase indefinitely the material content, the manifold of events, which the period comprises, but more or less of a thing is not the last word to be said about it. Vital appreciation, for example, requires something besides the interesting discovery that America had figured in European history before 1492, or that Anaximander about 600 B. C. said something concerning the importance of a prolonged infancy to human evolution which so brilliant a thinker as John Fiske discovered only thirty or forty years ago. To lengthen a period, then, though it makes more room, and so admits more cases, admitting as long a line of forerunners as you please, is not to avoid the evident materialism of mere length. Nor, further, does the historian necessarily escape the materialism of the date-bounded period when he seeks to relate a man or an event, a great thought or a great deed, to the environment, to the "times", in which the one

or the other has appeared. The "times" themselves may be without set time-barriers; usually in a loose way they are so made use of, their component factors or influences always having a value close to that of a timeless nature in organic evolution; but only formally to relate a man or an event, a thought or a deed, to the "times", however much the view may be broadened by so doing, though undoubtedly an advance materially, is not necessarily a real escape from a date-ridden history. It is so easy to see and treat the environment as if after all it were not the life of all time acting upon or through the life of the particular time. Thus, for illustration, in the statement that the trade-winds, not Columbus, discovered America, some might see—falsely, I think—a reflection on the originality of the great navigator, but signally fail to see that temporally there was any difference of meaning between the two ways of describing the famous voyage. Yet the trade-winds presumptively are more than an event of 1492; they were blowing at least a year or two even before Columbus was born, and rumor has it that they are sometimes active even at the present time.

To leave the historian's use of the "times", there is one more way in which he is capable of failing to free himself from the merely long—or short—period, and this perhaps is the most ghostly of the three. It is, then, the way of the would-be philosopher of history, who would relate human characters and events, laws and thoughts, institutions and movements, to underlying "presuppositions", "concepts", "*Zeitgeist*", and the like, but who forgets, or certainly seems to forget, that such agents as these are doubly transcendent of their dates, exceeding or overreaching them at both ends, being, so to speak, at once ahead of and behind their times, and having accordingly a value very like that which has been seen to belong to environment. Possibly environment and the concept or the *Zeitgeist* are but the real or actual and the ideal expressions of the same fact, both being the medium in which past and future not only meet but also live and move in the present; and if this be true of them, for the historian to treat either as only one more thing or fact to be cited in company with the other material data which his labors have unearthed from the period under examination is to be materialistic, date-ridden, and all that, and is also almost ignominiously to miss the golden opportunity of his great industry.

It fell to me recently to review a history of political theories of the ancient world. The author, as I fully appreciated, had made an important addition to the literature of his subject, but though claiming to supplement the work of an objective historian who had limited himself "to an account of political theories as they are to be

found crystallised and explicitly stated in literature", and seeking accordingly beyond these bare facts to expose the theories as "presuppositions", particularly as the "ideas implicit in the systems of governments and laws of the times and peoples considered", and even striving after what should "resemble in some respects a philosophy of history", he seemed to me to fall far short of his goal. It is true that the theories which he examined were shown with fair success to be only the formulated presuppositions of their times, but what I will call the dynamic value of such formulations received little if any attention. The theories, as presented, although apparently the presuppositions of the institutions of their times, were theories without the movement and vitality which every true presupposition upon formulation must have. A theory as the explicit rendering of an implicit idea must exceed its dates at both ends; it must always be a solvent by which what has been becomes a party to what is to be, by which a passing view or manner of life or civilization is taken up into a rising view or manner of life or civilization. Its self-consciousness, its conceptual character, makes it in this way transitional, because through all the conditions of its formulation it has and holds the value of an exhortation, to individuals or to a people, really and fully to be henceforth what they have been, to be Greeks, perhaps, or Christians or Americans or in general to be men or to be really natural, and such an exhortation is plainly at once deeply reminiscent and provident or prophetic. At a time of great theories a lost and forgotten Golden Age and a Kingdom of Heaven to come vie with each other for the control of men's minds. Again, formulation of theory is only to do more or less deliberately what, so we are told, the drowning man does at a flash, namely, bring a long, in a sense a whole, past into the presence of the future. Consider, too, how all theorizing implies skepticism, and how skepticism, instead of destroying things, as people have sometimes imagined, only transforms them, turning objects of human worship, human treasures and devotions of all sorts, into mere natural or physical utilities; and what can be more serviceable to history than such a transformation? Yet of this, and in general of the distinctly mediate function living in every theory, of the dynamic value and the time-transcendent character of every responsible formulation of real presuppositions, of the historical movement in every explicit rendering of an implicit idea, the author of the book in review gave only the merest hints. What, however, could be more essential to truly historical study? Events and ideas and ideas of ideas are always valuable data, but they do not necessarily make history; or they too often make only a materialistic history, a history that in

fact, if not in conceit, is still under the bondage of the date-bounded period. Real history must have life, movement, dramatic character.

Five marks of the possibility for materialism in history have now passed before our view, as follows: the self-repetition; the swinging pendulum; the external or arbitrary, wholly revolutionary reaction; the progress that depends on absolute gains or losses and on invidious, pharisaical distinctions; and the date-bounded period. One more, a sixth and perhaps the most important of all, remains to be considered, before the direct charge of materialism against the history of the present day, which will be remembered as the other special interest of this paper, can be examined. To this last mark of a materialistic history, then, I now turn, on account of its importance and peculiar interest giving it special treatment and special prominence.¹

III.

Sixthly, the historian is materialistic in that, or in so far as, he confuses what is merely a class-character with a well-rounded, all-sided, self-sufficient experience, that is to say, with the real, all-inclusive, vitally indivisible though perhaps indefinitely differentiable unity of experience. But what exactly does this mean? Apparently it is in form only a special rendering of the general definition of materialism with which this paper was introduced; yet a class-character and the unity of experience—just what are these? And how much does their confusion, the habit or tendency of taking one for the other, really involve?

To speak first of the unity of experience, we have here an idea that properly is intended to be very comprehensive. The same comprehensiveness might be claimed for the unity of life by a biologist or for the unity of force by a physical scientist or even for the unity of God by a theologian—at least by a theologian who had really studied both history and nature. The unity of experience is, quantitatively, the totality of all the relations, actual or possible, of man to himself or to his world. Man comprises, as we are so often told, a physical self, an intellectual self, and a moral and spiritual self. He comprises, again, feeling, cognition, and volition. He comprises, under still another analysis, a life that is natural, industrial, political, educational, esthetic, moral, and religious, and socially has developed institutions in which these different sides of his nature are especially

¹ Of course even a list of six marks of materialistic tendencies in history is by no means exhaustive. Perhaps, among others that might be named and discussed here, no one is more noteworthy than the idea of parallel histories. Political history, industrial history, ecclesiastical history, history of philosophy, history of art or science, may not be treated as independent, though parallel, without materialism.

and distinctly expressed. The unity of experience, then, quantitatively, is the totality of all of these relations, phases, parts, or functions of human nature, and, qualitatively, the mutual dependence, interaction, and determination among them all—in short, the vital, organic character, in distinction from the merely composite or aggregate character of the unity. In general, unity is qualitative as well as quantitative, and the unity of experience can be no exception to this general rule.

Now, with regard to what is meant by a class-character, it is first to be observed that the unity of experience *in its entirety* is actively present in every individual. In fact, its active presence is, or seems to me to be, what chiefly constitutes personality. Furthermore the unity of experience *in its entirety* is also actively present in the general environment. Environment might well be defined as the visible, material exemplification of all the different and various elements comprised in the unity of experience. True, between the person and the environment a great distinction exists. Thus, on the whole, that is to say, except for some one particular part or function, the unity of experience is present in the former only impulsively, implicitly, or potentially; or, to be perhaps more accurate, though there is really no difference in the meaning, only in an undeveloped form; while in the latter it exists explicitly or actually or more or less highly developed. But, in spite of this distinction, in both the unity of experience is present and is entirely real, its activity and reality in both being not at all incongruous with the suggested difference of form between potentiality and actuality, between implicit and explicit expression, or between low and high development. Moreover, this first observation should apply to any of all the possible analyses of human nature; to those already given here of course, and to any other that might be given.

But, in the next place, it is to be observed that between the person's potential and undeveloped and the environment's actual and developed expression of the unity of experience a class-life, a particular social affiliation, which the person enjoys or suffers under, is always mediating. This class-life, however, or the class-character, upon which this life is based, from which it gets its peculiar form and interest, always does violence to the unity of experience. Class-differences are wide and deep-set; a class-character comprises but one among the many different parts or phases of experience and, except for the constraint provided through the wholeness, or all-sidedness, of the person on the one hand and the environment on the other hand, tends strongly to exclude all the others, so that, as perhaps the best way of recounting the situation now under analysis,

class-life is nothing more or less than a hotbed of specialism. Conclusively, then—and just this is the point to be emphasized in the present discussion—the relation of a class-character to the unity of experience is always the relation of the particular to the general or more exactly of the part to the whole, but of the former in developed to the latter in a generally undeveloped form; and, as was said, history is therefore materialistic in so far as it confuses the two.

In illustration of what is intended by this account of the relation of the class-character to the unity of experience, the individual is personally emotional, cognitional, and volitional, or physical, mental, and spiritual, or natural, industrial, political, educational, esthetic, moral, and religious, or conservative and radical, honest and dishonest, *all in one*, but socially, that is, in respect to his particular class-alliance, he is only one of the things comprised in any of those groups. Moreover, what he is socially he is under conditions of some special training or special development; and also whatever he is socially gives direction and mediation to all the other relatively undeveloped sides of his nature. Does he belong, for example, to the class of mechanics? Then, while receiving the advantages of such association in the way of traditions, prestige, institutional support and education, technical skill, and the like, he will also, though without the same skill and without the other special advantages, be religious, intellectual, political, in his life of a mechanic or with reference to the instruments that make that life possible. Does he belong to the class of thieves? Then, while practising the talented arts of the thief's calling, he will also, though without training and ethical sophistication, be honest at least toward his companions. Does he belong among the natural scientists? He will make, so to speak, a religion or an industry of his science, though he will lack and possibly even resent, as he sees it in others, the professional manner of any member of the distinctly religious or the distinctly industrial class. Finally, for just one more illustration, is he socially conservative? Then, though not deliberately and certainly not with any avowal of intention, he is also given to temporizing with the established law, not merely to slighting it, but even to transgressing its provisions actively. However law-abiding any individual may be socially or institutionally, personally every individual is in some measure a lawbreaker; or, conversely, however radical and anarchical any one may be socially, personally every one is loyal to some principle of control.

In short, as these illustrations all indicate, any one of all possible class-characters shows, not what some have and others in society have not, but what all have, some however in developed, others in

only undeveloped form, some actually and conspicuously, others only potentially and in a sense privately. When the personal and the social are both taken into account, every creature in human society is seen to belong, either actually or potentially, publicly or privately, to all the classes of society. All men are all things together: all are scientists and mechanics and politicians and worshipers; good men and bad; conservatives and radicals; hedonists and rigorists; wise men and fools; thinkers and artists and road-menders: either personally or professionally all are all these things together, and if some class-alliance be a condition of every man's existence, then at least one thing every man is socially and professionally. Also, as the new term just used, and I think properly used, will suggest, the special materialism of history here in review may now be said to consist in failure to distinguish between the personal and the professional expression of experience. The personal expression of anything comprised in experience is never without some direct constraint from, or immediate vital relationship to, the other things comprised in experience, while the professional expression of the same thing is, or always strongly tends to be, under conditions of isolation and assumed self-sufficiency. Witness, with regard to the latter, the professional ideas of "business on strictly business principles", "art just for art's sake", "science as pure science", "religion as a sacred, unworldly cult", with which personal interest is always in conflict. No class-alliance, no connection with an institution, no professional life in itself, can ever fully satisfy all the demands of personality. Also, even the persistent, private, personal expression of such sides of life as the special profession neglects is not enough to make up the deficiency. It is not enough because of the coincident conflict between the developed and the undeveloped sides of the person's nature. But, this latter point aside, for history to assume that a profession is self-sufficient, the profession of conservatism perhaps or of radicalism, of science or of politics, of labor or of any particular nationalism, such as the Greek, Russian, English, or American, or of any particular religionism, such even as the Christian, is to be, under the definition, materialistic.

Perhaps all this is too simple and commonplace to need so much attention. Perhaps a straw-history will seem more than ever to be in possession of my mind. But, be this as it may, my logical instincts lead me boldly on. One or two conclusions or corollaries that may not be hopelessly commonplace are pressing for recognition, and with brief reference to them I promise to bring the examination of this sixth mark of materialism to a close.

History is plainly an affair of the whole; it is nothing more nor

less than the self-maintenance and development of the unity of experience; and this maintenance involves with equal necessity and significance the person, the class, and the totality—under whatever name, society, humanity, nature, or environment—to which the person and his including class belong. Without all three of these, taken of course in connection with such other divisions or subdivisions as they are types of, the maintenance would be impossible; history would and could have neither vitality nor continuity, neither real movement nor real unity.

History is an affair of the whole, and at least to avoid materialism it should feel itself in this character. To accept any form of an isolated individualism, personal, factional, or national, as for example in the notion that the individual has anything like a freedom of indifference to conditions, or in the idea that any nation has a really indivisible or inalienable sovereignty, or that the natural state is not a universal state, is to lose sight of its real character and to miss its greatest chance for real vitality.

And just because history is an affair of the whole I think, and I wish especially to say, that above all else the person is necessary to history. The class, or the totality of the classes, is indeed conspicuous for insuring a high technical or professional development for every side of human nature. Also the conflict of classes insures a constant check upon the disruption of experience which the class-specialism must always threaten. But in such conflict the check has an external, apparently arbitrary character, and the life which it serves lacks in consequence direct, positive integrity. Only through the person, who is himself the living, urgent unity of experience even to the inclusion of all its differences and conflicts, can human history ever secure its ever-accruing inheritance. Perhaps between the person and society, or the environment generally, there is such a difference as division of labor always induces. Perhaps personality is peculiarly organizing in its function, having in its nature more unity than difference, while the environment, on the other hand, as manifested in its social classes or let me even say in its different kingdoms, is peculiarly differentiating, having more division than unity. On such a plan the two would ever work together for the maintenance and productiveness of experience. But this is only a suggestion, that may seem too philosophical for ordinary consumption, and it will suffice if the person is seen to have a real place in history.

History, I say again, needs the person. The movement of the whole of experience, of all its actual and possible relations, within

the compass of the single personal individual makes natural and necessary, directly and vitally necessary, the application of any special attainment, which some class-affiliation has accomplished, beyond the particular sphere of its development. That such application is born of what essentially is genius will doubtless occur to every one. What is genius but just the capacity of translating one side of life, with its special attainment of skill and insight, into other sides or all sides of life?—and this capacity lies at the very heart of personality. This capacity, too, makes leadership, the partial or the complete liberation of the unity of experience, on the plane of some special development, in the life of a single individual. The person, in short, is born to translate and lead. All persons have some part in the genius of leadership.

History, I must say just once more, needs the person. Personality as a living, integral expression of the whole of experience, as possessing a natural capacity or genius for leadership, bridges all the chasms of history; the chasms of race, of caste, of epoch; of nationality, of party, of any form of division of human nature. Can leadership be anything else but the breaking down of the social barriers, geographical or historical, spacial or temporal? Has it ever failed to make one out of two? Personal leadership renders opposition, as manifested in the “vibrations” and “reactions” of history, only the competition of different sides or relations of human nature, not the struggle of classes and interests that have independent existence and that are not in consequence parts of a real unity of experience. Socially, as war of class with class or time with time, no conflict may seem solvable, but personally no conflict is unsolvable. Personality, sphere as it is of the whole differential operation that makes human life at any time and that has made human history, can even translate enemies into friends, victors into the vanquished, slaves into masters. Again, class-life may feed on difference, but for the person analogy is the staff of life, and to him accordingly, even when the constraints of his own class and time are strongest, all classes and all times, all parts and all sides of human nature, speak, different dialects perhaps, but the same language. More directly, then, than the common, natural environment, and more vitally than any abstract thought or formula, personality links the differences of history together in a truly living whole. What class has not had its leader? What people has not had its prophet? What great period has not had both its personal forerunner and its reformer? And leader, prophet, forerunner, and reformer have all shown how personality ever bridges the chasms of history.

If here some one objects that bridging the chasms of history

makes for continuity and so gives meaning to the idea of history repeating itself, it is only necessary to reply, or rather to repeat, that no denial of meaning to this idea was made or intended. History is not continuous in the sense of the monotonous repetition of any one thing or of any number or series of different things, but only in the sense of single, persistent activity whose movement through its differentiations is always one of positive growth, of qualitative, not merely quantitative variation. So to speak, no new period can ever be more or less than analogously or metaphorically a reproduction of what has preceded it. Class and person acting together secure the development, that makes the metaphors, to the unity of experience, with whose maintenance or constant realization history has been identified.

And, for a last word under this sixth topic, a word that may be quite uncalled for, clearly the person is never a being outside and apart. Self-sufficiency can come to him only in so far as he lives and moves and has his very being in and with the life at large. How could the unity of experience or of nature, which is always alive in the person, ever be external to its parts in the classes that make up society or, for that matter, that make up the environment as a whole? The whole trend of what has been found here in regard to the relation of the person to separate class-characters, of the unity of experience to its professional developments, that are only parts or phases of experience, is strictly against any such idea. Emphatically the person, necessary to history, is personal in and with the life that encompasses him, not outside of it, not over and above it. To treat him as by himself, as outside, would be, not perhaps apparently to take a part for a self-sufficient whole, but—in the end the same thing—to make of the whole only another part.

IV.

And now, having completed the exposure of some of the ways in which history may be materialistic, having even allowed myself from time to time to imply that in certain of those ways history to-day at least conventionally, if not actually, is materialistic, I turn at last to the special charge of materialism as it is issued against the current study of history. Curiously enough, this special charge hardly has directly in mind any of the six marks of the offense that I have given; on the contrary its attention has been largely to the emphasis which is being put on prosaic details, natural laws, material conditions, and the like; so that at first thought I shall doubtless seem to have gone needlessly out of my way, bothering my head with what nobody appears ever to have meant by materialism. But the fact

is, as has indeed been suggested already, that just such an excursion is always necessary, whenever the real meaning, in distinction from the ordinary understanding or application of anything, is in question. Such an excursion brings returns that have a peculiarly effective utility for the end in view. Nor is the situation altered at all by the circumstance that the excursion leads into the jungle, into the region where the enemy has his lair. Nothing is ever so near to being well understood as when even its critics are found, however pettily, to be guilty of it.

Thus, for the case in hand, the various marks of materialism which have been dwelt upon here have represented what on the whole have been the idea and the practice of those who are most ready to cry out against the materialistic historian of the day. Certainly the up-to-date historian has been less openly given to them than those who attack him. His critics, boastfully idealistic, have held quite tenaciously to just such things as the literal repetition, the sudden clear-sky reaction, the isolated period, the exclusive class or caste, the unearthly, heaven-sent genius, and the immaterially free common person. They have thought of progress, in just the way that all these things imply, as moving on in jerks and starts of accretion and rejection and as temporally only a series of periods that have no natural dealings with each other. And so, although their heads may have been in the sphere, perhaps the clouds, of the ideal, their feet have been planted squarely and firmly on what, at least under the definition, has the moist, earthy odor of materialism. But, over against his critics, the up-to-date historian has managed largely to free himself from their special conceits. Progress seems on the whole indifferent to him. Reaction and class and period and the rest are little if anything more than forms of thought, conventions, useful points of view with the value of working hypotheses rather than of fixed, objective realities. So far, then, he would seem even to have some advantage over his detractors.

But the up-to-date historian has a materialism of his own, which, though not always in full, open expression, is at least very real as a tendency with him, and taken for what it tends to be it is related to that of his detractors very much as the general to the particular or as the whole to its parts or special cases. In the first place, his useful forms of thought or hypothetical standpoints have at least the reality of conventions or ghosts, and, with these ghosts about, the moist, earthy odor, though possibly much attenuated, must still persist—perhaps, if I may extend the figure, not without suggestions of the tomb. But especially, in the second place, he makes hypostasis, not indeed of a class or period or person, but of the substance which is

called matter. Often in the world of his thinking this substance travels incognito. Now it is nature; now the universal environment; now natural law—whether physical or psychological; and now fate, or even history—in the sense of a single, all-inclusive, self-perpetuating process that stampedes everything happening in its way; but in fact, if not in name, it is always matter. And because it is matter and because before matter all things are equal, prosaic details of the minutest sort are studied with great patience and with an amazing lack of humor and perspective. Because it is matter, too, and because as matter it is made to stand off and apart in an arbitrary independence, the up-to-date historian, though not in the smaller ways of his boastfully idealistic critics, is given to materialism. True, with only matter to consider, this being single in process and in law, his history can really have only one period and be the history of only one class of beings, but it is still materialistic, because it treats the great whole as if it were only another part, as if something were still outside of it, as if it were a fatal process imposing itself upon human life and robbing mankind of the last vestiges of interest and initiative. In a word the materialism, real as a tendency if not as a fully developed practice, of present-day history, is only the great materialism that has taken into itself all the others; the great beast or leviathan, that has swallowed all the smaller beasts, and has taken them in or swallowed them without assimilating them, without—could anything be so lacking in sense of humor?—learning the simple, easy lesson of all-inclusiveness. The ghosts of all it has devoured still look out through its unnatural eyes.

Why unnatural eyes? Because of the ghosts? Doubtless; but especially because of the lesson unlearned though so obvious. Those eyes are looking at what they refuse to see. They are looking at the whole without seeing that the whole cannot be outside of anything; at natural process, or history, without seeing that, if really all-inclusive, it cannot possibly be fate to anything; at material data or conditions, without seeing that the conditions can show only what life is, not what it has to be in spite of itself; or at necessity, without seeing that a recognized necessity cannot be more or less than a well-developed opportunity, that just because known the law that suggests necessity is evidence only of a real, substantial freedom already developed in the life of the knowers.

The special charge of materialism against history, then, is not without point. Moreover, it is true to the definition that was given here, for history has tended to treat its whole as if only another part. But the chief reproach in the charge is not so much the materialism as what I will call the superstition of materialism, the

illusion of the independent, arbitrary whole, from which it shows the historian to be suffering. Thus, in my opinion, the up-to-date history has been more superstitious than genuinely materialistic; perhaps because under the hypnotic influence of its critics, it has taken its materialism of the whole too seriously, assuming in consequence a false position, seeing or fearing to see what has no reality in fact, supposing fate, necessity, outside compulsion, or determination, where none can possibly exist.

I have no desire to be needlessly subtle, although for a moment I may now appear so. Under the definition of materialism, a materialism of the whole should somehow end in what a scientist might call the precipitation of something new or different, and only the persistence of the illusion or superstition referred to above can possibly prevent such an outcome. Thoroughness or wholeness, so to speak, constitutes a state of saturation; it makes the materialism too inclusive to remain intact, and under such conditions a precipitate should be looked for. The precipitate of a materialism of the whole, then, is—in lack of a better name—idealism; not of course the illusive idealism of the critics and detractors of history, not the idealism whose strength has lain in an opposition to materialism, but the idealism that comes with and through materialism as a natural consequence of real wholeness supplanting partiality.

Details, material conditions, and natural laws are all pertinent interests of history; but the materialistic illusion of the independent, arbitrary whole, before which all details are equal and conditions and laws mean external necessity and blind fate, has threatened to rob history of its proper interest and vitality, making it materialistic, when just by reason of its present tendencies, just because of its thoroughness, its regard to details, and its study of laws, it has a right to be deeply and genuinely idealistic. Recognition of this right would lead, I venture to believe and I have written this long article chiefly to say, to such a change in history as the stereoscope works upon a flat picture; it would give perspective where perspective has been lacking; dramatic movement—without loss of scientific virtuosity, where there has been only process or law.

The idea of the experience-whole, of the unity of experience, made much of in a preceding section, here comes to my aid, as I conclude. It led, as will be remembered, to emphasis of the importance of the person, in whom all the elements of experience were moving with greater or less power, with higher or lower development, and now, as the materialistic illusion of the independent whole is dispelled, as its precipitate, idealism, comes to view, the same emphasis is again possible. Thus, the idea of the unity of experience

suggests very clearly that in experience matter—under its own name or under any of its disguises—may have either one of two meanings. It may be a special thing, a distinct group of phenomena, or a general function capable of as many applications or expressions as there are relations in experience. Let me explain.

As to the first of the two meanings: if human nature in its unity does indeed include a physical part, then the outside physical or material world, details, conditions, laws, and all, can be but the special, isolated, why not say with real appreciation even the factional and technical and professional development of just that part, and as in general so here the genius of personality, ever quick with the whole unity of experience, or of human nature, is constantly reaping for its whole self the advantage of this particular professional development and association. How else justify natural poetry or art? or natural religion? How explain mechanical invention with its wonderful applications of material, natural resources to all sorts of human ends and purposes? How account for the sails and ships and the navigator's devices in general that enabled the trade-winds to discover America?

But, secondly, matter may be, and I think in actual use has had all the value of being, something more relative or more general, and therefore less tangible and specific than this. In my opinion it has often stood, not for a distinct thing, not for a specific and more or less independent group of phenomena, the so-called outer, material world, but rather for a very general relationship, in a word, for so much of reality as is concerned with maintaining, relatively to any one side of life, all other sides of life in the unity of experience. So regarded, it has the character of the general restraint that the unity of experience is always putting upon each and every expression of specialism and, as was suggested, it will have as many specific expressions as experience shows tendencies to specific development. Also, in this character, to recall the distinction that was used before, matter will be directly vital and personal—just for being such a general function in the unity of experience—rather than professional and fixedly specific as under the first meaning remarked here. So to speak, it will be a rôle in which every element of personal experience will have some part. Perhaps the fact that even the outer material world as men think of it is a decidedly ambiguous thing, being now the special world of technical physical science and now the world that includes, relatively to any one human being, all other human beings as well as all other classes and races, all other animals, all other things that live, and all other merely existent objects, may be cited in illustration and evidence of what is intended by the

idea of matter as of double meaning, as now a distinct, separate thing, specially and professionally developed, and now a general function vital to and in personality. Perhaps, too, it is worth while to add that in environment, nature, natural selection, the biologist must recognize, and to a certain extent has recognized, the same distinction between specific thing and general function, between the separate group of external phenomena and the vital function that belongs within every organism. Such an addition seems especially worth while because the historian and the evolutionist are bound to have a common interest.

But we now have before our view the two meanings of matter which the idea of the unity of experience has suggested. There is matter as the profession, class, or "kingdom", and there is matter as the function in personality; and it is hardly necessary to say that these two meanings are not at all incongruous. Simply they are both involved in the maintenance and development of experience. With apologies for the repetition, they are only a very general, perhaps the most general and most inclusive expression of the important difference, noted above, between the class-character and the unity of experience, between the technical and the personal expression of anything; and they show that a materialism of the whole not only precipitates idealism but also restores the person to history.

The person, member of all classes, or kingdoms, possesses vitally the whole; this whole permeates his entire nature. Materialism may deny him such membership and such possession, but idealism, coming with removal of the illusion of the independent whole, restores them. In the person history is seen to be an affair of the whole and to be at the same time vital, not fatal, not mechanical. And so history may gain anew the humanity and dramatic interest that to many it has appeared in serious danger of losing.

ALFRED H. LLOYD.

A CONTINENTAL CONGRESSMAN: OLIVER ELLSWORTH, 1777-1783.¹

OCTOBER 8, 1778, "Mr. Ellsworth, a delegate from Connecticut, attended and took his seat in Congress."² Occupied at home with so many other duties, Ellsworth had suffered nearly a year to elapse from the time of his first election before he took his place among the civil rulers of the loosely joined confederacy of states. Six years a delegate, he went to Philadelphia but five times in all. His first attendance, lasting a little over four months, ended February 19, 1779, when leave of absence was granted him. Beginning again in the middle of December, 1779, his name appeared on the roll-calls until the latter part of June, 1780; on July 3 another member was appointed to his place on a standing committee. Absent nearly a year, he reappeared at Philadelphia at the beginning of June, 1781, and sat until September. Returning on December 20, 1782, he sat until near the close of January. His final attendance was from April 1 until midsummer, 1783.³

Unfortunately, this sort of spasmodic membership was not exceptional. None of the states kept its full quota in constant attendance. Even the standing committees whose work was of an executive character were subject to incessant changes in their membership. It is no wonder that Washington, after pointing out in one of his letters that short enlistments were the cause of the worse embarrassments in the military line, promptly added, "*A great part of the embarrassments in the civil flow from the same source.*" So far as Congress

¹ This is the continuation of an article in the REVIEW for April, 1905, 534-564: "The Early Life of Oliver Ellsworth."

² *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 583.

³ *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut*, 459-460; *Journals of Congress*, V, 65, 451; VI, 103; VII, 118, 171, 177, 192-193; VIII, 45, 111, 124, 170, 291. Letters of Ellsworth, in the Trumbull collection and elsewhere, confirm certain of these dates. A letter written from Philadelphia to his brother David is dated January 9, 1778; but it seems clear that this was a slip, Ellsworth forgetting that a new year was begun. Another letter to the same brother, written from Philadelphia on November 10, 1779—more than a month before the journal record of Ellsworth's second appearance in Congress—is harder to explain. That he should have been there and yet not have taken his seat is scarcely credible. He speaks in the letter of the ill health of his father, and the only conjecture I can offer is that this or something else suddenly recalled him to Connecticut.

alone was concerned, the practice is in part attributable to economy, but in part also to the plain fact that the colonies, though they had united in declaring and in striving to achieve their independence, were as yet scarcely started on the road to a real union, to nationality. The members of Congress were delegates, hardly representatives. They were responsible collectively to their several states, rather than individually to their constituents. They were, in fact, held to a regular accounting with the governments of their states. Ellsworth's letters from Philadelphia to Governor Trumbull might almost be despatches from an ambassador to a secretary of state.¹ Ordinarily, he and his colleagues for the time being collaborated in joint epistles. All votes in the chamber were taken by states, and the vote of a delegation evenly divided on any question was lost.

Nevertheless, Ellsworth's work in the Continental Congress is not negligible, either from the point of view of a biographer or in a broader study of the times. It began before he went to Philadelphia. On December 11, 1777, Congress appointed him one of the five members of a committee to investigate the causes of the failure of an expedition into Rhode Island,² and Van Santvoord states also that he and two of his associates took a mass of testimony and presented a report.³ But the report led to no action by Congress, which was doubtless far too busy with other expeditions to carry out its purpose, announced in 1777, of accounting for all the expeditions that had failed.

In the autumn of 1778, when Ellsworth went at last to Philadelphia, the first fine ardors of the Revolution were long since spent. Both sides had come to see clearly the nature of the struggle, and that it was bound to be long and difficult, whichever side might win. For the leaders of the patriot cause there had been many bitter disappointments: from the loss of battles, from the falling away of the weaker-hearted in their own party, from convincing proofs of the enemy's superior strength in wealth and discipline and numbers. But at least, on the other hand, the cause they fought and worked for was now by the Declaration of Independence, and by many other acts equally significant and irrevocable, completely blazoned to the

¹ Most of these letters, probably all, are in the Trumbull collection in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The more important are printed in the society's *Collections*, fifth series, IX, X, seventh series, II, III. Some are also to be found in Flanders's life of Ellsworth in his *Lives and Times of the Chief Justices*. Through the kindness of the society's librarian, however, I have been permitted to use the originals, and my references are to these.

² *Journals of Congress*, III, 545, 571-572.

³ George Van Santvoord, *Lives and Judicial Services of the Chief-Justices*, 199.

world. They were no longer fighting for a mere redress of grievances; they were trying to keep alive a new member of the family of nations. France had already recognized them, and was aiding them with money, with ships, with soldiers. Nor had success in arms been wholly wanting. Save in the desperate counter-strokes at Trenton and Princeton, Washington's army, it is true, had never won a decided victory in a pitched battle; but Burgoyne and his army were captives, and the grand strategy of the enemy for the year 1777 had undeniably failed. Emerging the next spring from his supreme ordeal at Valley Forge, Washington had been cheered by the news of the treaty with France, and then by Sir Henry Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia. In June he had fought at Monmouth a pitched battle which was at least indecisive, and which, but for the misconduct of Charles Lee, might well have been a victory. That he and his little armies could do no more was the fault—so far as it was a fault at all—of the states, which did not adequately recruit or arm or supply them, and of a central government which was still but little more than a government by consent. The Articles of Confederation, which would serve, so soon as they should be ratified, to give the authority of a written agreement to such concessions of power as they made to Congress, had been laid before the legislatures of the states; but these were slow to ratify. Meanwhile, through its standing committees, Congress was discharging as best it could the various functions of a proper government; by requisition on the states and borrowing abroad it was doing what it could to procure the means to keep the armies in the field.

The Continental legislature, which had been, at its first session, the ablest group of men ever at one time gathered under one roof in America, had naturally lost to the new state governments and to foreign courts a number of its most illustrious members. Franklin and John Adams were in Europe. Jay and Henry and Jefferson and John Rutledge were occupied with high services to their several states. Washington, of course, was in the field. At the first roll-call after Ellsworth took his seat, only thirty-two delegates answered to their names. But some of the names that were answered to would have shone on any list. To that particular roll-call Samuel Adams and Gerry, Roger Sherman, Witherspoon, Richard Henry Lee, Laurens, and Drayton responded. Gouverneur Morris was a member, though not then present, and, for a little while longer, Robert Morris also. In a few weeks, John Jay took his seat from New York.

It is doubtful, however, if any of these men surpassed in wisdom,

or in experience and influence, the colleague whom Ellsworth found awaiting him, and whose name is signed with his to several letters which were despatched to Governor Trumbull in the next few weeks. Roger Sherman was by this time a veteran in continental politics, and we know that Ellsworth profited to the full by the older statesman's counsel and friendship. He once declared that he had taken the character of Sherman for his model; and on this confession John Adams, it is said, made comment that it was praise enough for both.¹ They worked together on many occasions for the interest of Connecticut and the good of the whole country, and though they frequently differed, and their names appeared on opposite sides on various questions, no jealousy or personal antagonism of any sort between them has ever come to light.

The dry and meager *Journals* of the Congress reveal but little of the human quality of the debates, which were always secret. To read them seems a tiresome and not a particularly profitable sort of historical delving until, dismissing the notion that our American political system was "struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man",² the student comes to understand that he is groping among the roots of institutions which are now grown to a colossal power and reach. Ellsworth, for example, was soon assigned to three standing committees which may be regarded as the rudimentary forms of three great departments of our present government. One was the Marine Committee, which a little later became the Board of Admiralty; by another change, its duties were later devolved upon a sort of department of naval affairs, headed by a secretary or manager whose counterpart under the Constitution is the secretary of the navy. The second, already styled the Board of Treasury, attained, through much the same succession of changes, a like ancestral relationship to the present Department of the Treasury. The third was the Committee of Appeals; and that, it is now quite clear, was the first forerunner of the present Supreme Court of the United States; its work was the beginning of all our federal jurisprudence. Naturally, in view of what came after, Ellsworth's membership in it has been singled out as the most significant fact of his first term of service.

¹ Longacre and Herring's *National Portrait Gallery*, IV, sketch of Ellsworth, 8 (108).

² Yet Gladstone's famous sentence is not deserving of the ridicule and the downright contradiction which it has occasionally drawn forth. It is only by contrast with the British Constitution, "the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and the long gestation of progressive history", that he attributes to the American Constitution so instantaneous a birth. *North American Review*, CXXVII, 185.

And the *Journals*, indeed, supply us with no great mass of facts to choose from. They inform us¹ that he voted aye on two sets of resolutions, of a distinctly New England flavor and opposed mainly by delegates from the south, proclaiming the necessity of a very strict morality among a people fallen on such evil times, and condemning, in most pointed terms, the evil amusements of playgoing, gaming, and horse-racing. They also tell us how he voted on a few other questions, none, however, of a nature to indicate his general views. With R. H. Lee, Bartlett, and Samuel Adams, he served on a special committee to attend to a memorial from Governor Trumbull calling attention to the unrewarded services and sacrifices of his son, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, who had been the commissary-general of the army.² He was on another special committee to look into certain seizures of property at the time when Philadelphia was evacuated by the British³; and he was also on the committee which, after investigating fully Robert Morris's management, through the firm of Morris and Willing, of certain large purchases for the army, not merely exonerated Morris from all the charges against his integrity, but praised him highly for ability and patriotism.⁴ This report may very well have opened the way for the later determination of Congress to put Morris in control of the Continental finances. *Per contra*, when charges were brought against Benedict Arnold, who was at this time in command at Philadelphia, living beyond his means, consorting most with an aristocratic and decidedly Tory set in the society of the gayest of all colonial cities, and about to be married to the beautiful daughter of a prominent Tory family, Ellsworth voted against a motion to postpone investigation.⁵ Another important assignment was to a committee of all the states, charged to investigate the disputes among our agents abroad and to consider the whole subject of our foreign relations. When it reported, Congress voted to recall several of our representatives at European courts and adopted rules intended to prevent disagreements and conflicts of authority such as that which had arisen between Silas Deane and Arthur Lee.⁶ His last assignment was to a committee which conferred with Washington about the office of inspector-general.

Unfortunately, too, his letters do not greatly increase our knowl-

¹ *Journals of Congress*, IV, 590, 602-603.

² *Ibid.*, 597.

³ *Ibid.*, 614.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 28, 49-51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁶ *Secret Journals of Congress*, II, 517, 525 ff.

edge of the clearly active and varied part which he was already playing at Philadelphia. The letters to Trumbull for this term of service are all joint epistles; the first two signed by Sherman and Ellsworth, the remainder, written after Sherman had gone home, by Eliphalet Dyer, Ellsworth, and Jesse Root. Like most joint letters, they are dry and matter-of-fact; but if they had been written by Ellsworth alone they would not, in all probability, have been much more readable. Three or four letters which he did write at this time to his younger brother, David, have been preserved.¹ The first of them² begins with a "Dear Sir", and another "Sir", with a comma, precedes "your affectionate brother" at the end. It runs:

Neither the business of Congress, nor amusements of this gay City have been able to make me forget my friends at Windsor. Among others of them you in particular have my most constant remembrance and continued good wishes. If in anything at this distance I can serve you, you will oblige me by letting me know it. Do you want any [thing] that I could purchase for you here? Almost everything is to be bo't here tho' at exorbitant prices. A principal object under consideration of Congress at present is if possible to establish the credit of the currency, and so to reduce prices. The best time to have done this is indeed past. I do not, however, despair of its being affected yet. My little family I suppose are now at Windsor and doubt not they have your particular care to make them comfortable in my absence, and the rather as you have none of your own yet to be concerned for. I desire a suitable remembrance to all our family.

It is not a particularly unfavorable specimen of Ellsworth's epistolary style during these years of absorbing work. As he grew older, more signs of culture began to appear in his rare letters, and also—for in this, too, he was a New England type—a bit more of himself and his human interests and affections, and even, here and there, mild displays of humor. But the Revolutionary statesmen were not, as a rule, amusing correspondents. As a group, they strike one as uncommonly serious-minded and self-contained.³ Such high spirits as Gouverneur Morris sometimes displayed were rare among them. Ellsworth's allusion to his brother's lack of any family of his own may have been meant for a sly hint of a suspicion that the other was soon to be married. A little later,⁴ the fact of an engagement being announced, he wrote his congratulations. But the nearest he came to a joke on an occasion which might be con-

¹ For copies, I am indebted to Mr. G. E. Taintor, of Hartford, Conn.

² October 25, 1778.

³ Professor Barrett Wendell has somewhere amiably described them as the group of "grave and learned obstetricians who presided at the birth of their country".

⁴ January 26, 1779.

sidered somewhat favorable for a bit of teasing was to wish that Goshen, the town in which the young woman lived, might prove to be flowing in milk and honey. "Everybody", he again breaks off from his brother's affair to say, "is now thinking and talking about the paper currency." No doubt the pleasure-loving set in Philadelphia, which Arnold preferred to his sober Whig acquaintance, found Ellsworth and his fellows less to their liking than André and the other young English officers whom these preoccupied patriots had displaced.

The letters to Trumbull also are largely devoted to the currency. That problem, and the almost equally discouraging delay of the states in ratifying the Articles, were at this time causing the greatest anxiety among all thoughtful Whigs. The Continental issues of paper money were depreciated to such a point that it was seen clearly that something radical must be done to give them higher value, or else some other medium must be contrived. Meanwhile, led by Maryland, certain states which had no claims to western lands were insisting that the states which did have such claims ought to surrender them to the general government, and were demanding that concession as a condition of their acceptance of the Articles.

In October Sherman and Ellsworth wrote to Trumbull¹:

The affair of finance is yet unfinished; the arrangement of the board of treasury is determined on, but the officers are not yet appointed. To-morrow is assigned for their nomination. The members of Congress are united in the great object of securing the liberties and independence of the States, but are sometimes divided in opinion about particular measures.

New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, they reported, had not yet ratified the Articles. These states were asking, not merely that the western lands should be ceded to the confederacy, but that out of those lands grants should be made to the soldiers of all the states. Sherman and Ellsworth added:

Perhaps if the Assembly of Connecticut should resolve to make grants to their own troops, and those raised by the States of Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, in the lands south of Lake Erie, and west of the lands in controversy with Pennsylvania,² free of any purchase money or quit-rents to the government of Connecticut, it might be satisfactory to those States and be no damage to the State of Connecticut.

¹ October 15, 1778, Trumbull Papers.

² Meaning the Susquehanna lands, claimed by Connecticut and by Pennsylvania; the dispute was now pending before a tribunal established by Congress. The "lands south of Lake Erie" included, of course, the region later known as the Connecticut Western Reserve.

This was doubtless one of the first suggestions looking to that qualified cession of her western claims which Connecticut made a few years later. It was also with gifts of western lands that the state finally compensated her soldiers and other of her citizens who had lost or suffered by the war.

In January,¹ Trumbull having made inquiries about the progress of confederation, Ellsworth, Dyer, and Root replied that Delaware and Maryland still held out, and that it was a question whether the assent of the other eleven was binding without theirs. Early in February,² they could write that only Maryland now held out; but the little state, as the event proved, was stubborn and resolved enough to hold out two years longer, and until, by extorting from the claimant states the cessions she demanded, she had accomplished for them all a long step toward the real union they were all so sadly in need of.

As to the finances, the Connecticut delegates had the pleasure to inform the governor, early in November,³ that his son had been unanimously chosen to the head of the new arrangement of the treasury; and at the beginning of the new year they transmitted the measures adopted by Congress "to releive its sinking credit and possibly gradually to appreciate its value. A portion of every day", they added, "was set apart for that purpose, and [it] was not closed till Saturday night last. We thought it prudent to detain Brown⁴ till we could transmit to you the proceedings of Congress on that subject, lest his return without any intelligence might fix the impression on the minds of the people that Congress was only amusing them with bare pretences, while in fact they meant to have the bills die in the possessors' hands."⁵ Detaining the messenger another day, they sent on the apportionment of a tax of fifteen million dollars which Congress had voted to request the states to raise. Connecticut's quota was one million seven hundred thousand dollars, and her delegates pointed out that it could be paid more easily at once, while the Continental bills were sunk so low, than later, when, it was hoped, these would rise in value. Of other not unimportant matters they also wrote, and always with both ardent patriotism and good common-sense; and from time to time they communicated tidings from various quarters of moment to the great cause.

¹ January 4, 1779, Trumbull Papers.

² February 11, 1779.

³ November 10, 1778.

⁴ A messenger who was constantly traveling backward and forward between Philadelphia and Hartford.

⁵ January 4, 1779, Trumbull Papers.

But there is nothing of the Committee of Appeals. Quite probably, Ellsworth did not divine that of all his duties in the Congress that was the most distinguished. It may well have taken him years to perceive how truly constructive was the work which he and his fellow-committeemen happened upon the chance to do. He does not seem to have moved very fast in the direction of nationalism and the advocacy of a stronger government. Perhaps the zeal of his own state, up to this time, in all that pertained to the cause, kept him from seeing how inadequate the independent action of thirteen states in the management of their common interests must in the long run prove. As to the necessity of some sort of federal court or courts to sit on cases which it would be obviously unfair to submit, for final decision, to the courts of any one state, only the actual coming up of such cases, and not the forethought of any state or statesman, first made it plain. One such controversy was that which had arisen between Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the ownership of the Susquehanna country. But the class of controversies to which this belonged was not large enough to create of themselves a clear necessity for a permanent tribunal. The system of privateering which Congress early authorized, and the beginning of a navy, soon, however, led to disagreements that were numerous and clearly of a nature to demand adjudication by some Continental court. Prompted by Washington,¹ Congress, after some delay, set up a standing committee "to hear and determine upon appeals brought against sentences passed on libels in the courts of Admiralty in the respective States."²

By the time Ellsworth became a member of it, this committee had disposed of thirty-eight appeals,³ and there had been no resistance to its authority. It sat in the state-house at Philadelphia,⁴ and appeals were coming in regularly. But when he had been about a month a member one was received which led very quickly to a questioning of the power of the committee and of Congress. The cause is therefore deservedly celebrated, and Ellsworth's sitting on the somewhat anomalous tribunal which tried it may well be accounted one of the accidents which help to shape even the least haphazard of careers.

It was the case of Thomas Houston *versus* the sloop Active,

¹ *Writings of Washington* (Sparks's ed.), III, 154-155.

² *Ibid.*, 196-197; *Journals of Congress*, III, 43, 174.

³ J. C. Bancroft Davis, 131 *U. S. Reports*, appendix, xxiv, xxv, xli.

⁴ J. Franklin Jameson, "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court", in his *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States*, 31.

appealed from the Pennsylvania Court of Admiralty,¹ where it had been tried before a jury. The committee reversed the decision; but when the case was remanded to the state court the Pennsylvania judge, though he acknowledged the committee's jurisdiction, was unwilling to disregard the jury's award. Instead, he ordered the marshal to sell the sloop and cargo and bring the proceeds into court. The claimants who had been worsted before the jury thereupon moved the committee for an order to the marshal to execute its decree. This motion was pending when the committee, receiving a warning from Benedict Arnold that it must act quickly if it would assert its authority, and urged also by the claimants, assembled one morning at eight o'clock and granted an injunction to restrain the marshal from paying into the judge's hands the sum obtained by the sale. The injunction was, however, disregarded, and in this way there arose the first clear conflict between the judicial authority of a state and of the United States. The committee found itself as powerless to enforce its decree as Congress was to enforce its requisitions. Fearing to endanger the public peace by prolonging the controversy, it merely entered in its minutes that it would take no further action in the matter "until the authority of the court be so settled as to give full efficacy to their decrees and process".

But that was not the end of the case. Nearly thirty years later, it came in another form before John Marshall and his associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States,² and there was another collision with the authorities of Pennsylvania before the decision of the court, sustaining the committee, was finally carried into effect.

Nor was it the end of the Committee of Appeals. When it rendered its report, Congress referred the matter first to a special committee and then to a committee of the whole house. It was debated for two entire days, and a series of resolves was passed, over the opposition of the Pennsylvania delegates, insisting that Congress and the committee were within their powers in all that they had done. These resolves were later transmitted to the legislatures of all the states, that they might "take effectual measures for conforming therewith".³ Several states did make formal concession of the right of appeal to Congress in cases of capture.

Ellsworth had left before these steps were taken, but he was back in his seat, and again a member of the committee, when the

¹ 5 Cranch's *Reports*, 115 ff.; 131 *U. S. Reports*, appendix, xxix-xxxiv.

² *United States vs. Peters*, 5 Cranch's *Reports*, 115 ff.

³ *Journals of Congress*, V, 43, 86-90, 217.

next stage of this institutional development was reached. That was in January, 1780,¹ when Congress resolved "That a court be established for the trial of all appeals from the courts of admiralty in these United States, in cases of capture, to consist of three judges, appointed and commissioned by Congress". A week later three able lawyers were named for this first federal court, one of them Ellsworth's colleague, Titus Hosmer.² Once or twice thereafter Congress had occasion to defend the course it had taken on the question of prizes, but the Articles of Confederation conceded the authority it had already exercised, and the court remained in existence until 1786, when it ceased to sit merely because there were no more cases on its docket. By his share in creating it Ellsworth—no doubt unwittingly—had been training his hand for the noblest task it ever found to do; and in his membership of the committee which preceded it he had had an experience which must have proved of value in the highest office he was ever to hold.³ Characteristically, however, he has left no record of these things in any of his letters.

But, even if he had been a more voluminous letter-writer, this would not be surprising. Other needs of the struggling young government were much more imperative than the need of a judiciary. In the winter and spring of 1779-1780, it was again the finances that absorbed the attention and activity of Congress; and Ellsworth, even before he returned to Philadelphia, had been occupied with a scheme of betterment—albeit a bad one. The eastern states were trying to unite on a plan to remedy the evil of a depreciating currency, and they hit upon the hopeless and vicious plan of a limitation of prices by law. Massachusetts taking the lead, a convention for that purpose was held at Hartford in October, 1779, and Ellsworth was one of the four Connecticut delegates. It was agreed that Connecticut and New York should pass laws to limit prices similar to those already passed by the three states to the eastward; resolutions were adopted in favor of raising more money by taxation and of repealing certain state embargoes; and all the states as far "west" as Virginia were invited to send representatives to a larger convention for limiting prices, to be held at Philadelphia in January. To this

¹ January 15, *ibid.*, VI, 14.

² *Ibid.*, 17.

³ The history of the Committee of Appeals and the Court of Appeals is carefully given in J. F. Jameson's "The Predecessor of the Supreme Court", in his *Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States in the Formative Period*, and by J. C. B. Davis in the "Centennial Appendix" to 131 *U. S. Reports*. These two writers have left little to be discovered on the subject. See also Hampton L. Carson's *History of the Supreme Court* (Philadelphia, 1892), 48-64.

also Ellsworth was a delegate. When it met, however, four of the invited states failed to appear. There were adjournments from day to day, an adjournment without day, a reassembling on the arrival of delegates from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, more adjournments from day to day, a call on New York and Virginia, which had not yet acted, and then an adjournment to April, in hope that they would act.¹ But they never acted, and the convention never reassembled. Congress had been brought to favor the plan, but it could not bring the states into agreement.

It was as well that they never did agree. No such expedient as this would have done any good of itself, and it might have delayed more hopeful measures. The Continental currency could not be saved by anything short of peace and the lodging of the power to tax in the government which had issued it. It had sunk so low by this time that those who held supplies would hardly exchange them for the notes at any price. In January Ellsworth wrote to Governor Trumbull that in the neighborhood of the army meal was selling at eight dollars the quart, and corn at half a dollar the ear.² Congress had in fact already decided to abandon the old method of obtaining supplies, to issue no more bills of credit, and to make no more money requisitions on the states. It was trying, instead, a plan of requisitions for specific commodities. Washington had led the way by calling on the state of New Jersey for food for his army, and naming the kind and quality of provisions which he expected from each of the several counties. His demand was met with an unexpected promptness, and about the same time Connecticut also sent on to the half-starved troops a supply of beef.³ To superintend the new method, Congress—as was its wont when there was executive work to do—appointed a committee; and to this committee Ellsworth was assigned the day after he took his seat.⁴ The service was doubtless as laborious as it was obscure. It brought him neither fame nor any other compensation. Indeed, the time when distinction could be won in the Congress seemed to be past. The famous names on the roll of members were fewer than ever. In March Madison took his seat as a delegate from Virginia, but the young man was as yet scarcely known beyond the boundaries of his native state. Ellsworth, it is clear from his letters, had no desire to linger at Phila-

¹ For both conventions, *Connecticut State Records*, II, 414-415, 562-579; letters from Ellsworth, and from Sherman and Ellsworth, to Trumbull, in the Trumbull Papers.

² January 14, 1780, Trumbull Papers.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ December 17, 1779, *Journals of Congress*, V, 452.

delphia.¹ Yet this was the longest of all his attendances. Just historians can only deplore their inability to paint in glowing and attractive colors the sober, silent, uninviting labors for great causes which deserve, but cannot win, the highest celebrity and praise. A single brilliant exploit in the field, a single eloquent sentence on some dramatic occasion, would doubtless have done more to keep alive the memory of a man like Ellsworth or his colleague, Sherman, than all the patience, judgment, energy, and devotion with which, through many weary weeks and months, they gave themselves to the things which no one wished to do, yet which must be done, and could only be done by men of first-rate ability.

The new plan for supplies seemed for a while to be working fairly well. Late in January, Sherman and Ellsworth wrote to Trumbull, telling of the failure of the scheme to limit prices, but ended cheerfully: "It is with pleasure however we can add that there appears to be in the states generally a good forwardness to furnish their quotas of taxes and other supplies, which, aided by measures now under consideration, it is hoped may produce effects equally salutary."² A few days later, Ellsworth wrote again, "The supplies and prospects of the army are now comfortable."³ But the business affairs of the Confederation could never be kept in a good train until the currency should be reformed. About the same time, Ellsworth was writing to his brother David, "I cannot tell you when we shall have peace or good money."

The outcome of the long and anxious debating of Congress over

¹ A letter to his brother David, dated March 24, 1780, shows how little ambition had to do with his being there, and in what spirit he consented to remain:

"I still continue to be favored with good health", he wrote. "I hope you and sister enjoy the same and that you have a great deal of pleasure in tending your baby, which I suppose by this time is beginning to talk so that you can almost understand it. As to the old horse, for I conclude that next to the baby you still think of him, having so often tended and combed him, and so often rode him forth in courting and in war, I have him yet on hand, and now and then I mount and ride him—for a long time he gained no flesh and was much swelled in his legs and other parts but he now thrives and prances well and I shall probably sell him well by and by.

"When I came away I expected to have returned home before this time, but nobody is yet arrived to take my place, tho' I have encouragement that there will be soon. It would be both more pleasing and more profitable to me to return home to my own family and business than to remain here any longer at this time, but you know when a soldier goes forth in publick service he must stay until he is discharged, and though the weather be stormy and his allowance small yet still he must stand to his post. All this you understand well by experience."

² January 26, 1780, Trumbull Papers.

³ January 30, 1780, *ibid.*

the problem of the currency was a determination to abandon the Continental paper already in circulation. The plan agreed upon was to sink the Continental bills of credit and issue new bills on the credit of the several states. These, it was thought, would be effectually secured against depreciation by keeping the quantity of them down, by providing funds for their redemption, by the shortness of the period, by paying interest, and by adding to the credit of the states the guaranty of the United States. Six-tenths of the issue was to be turned over at once to the several states, which could then purchase for cash the specific supplies for which they were requisitioned.

These and other details of the plan were communicated to Governor Trumbull by Sherman and Ellsworth. Hastily written as their letter was,¹ dry and matter-of-fact though it is, it would probably be hard to find another contemporary document, unless it should be some letter of Robert Morris himself, setting forth more correctly the state of the finances at this time and the actual working of the new government in that department. Taken with a letter of Trumbull, then on its way to the delegates, telling what Connecticut had done of her own motion—that is to say, no doubt, of Trumbull's motion—to establish the credit of the state by "*the efficacy of honest truth*" in dealing with the public creditor, it well exhibits the sort of patriotism in civil office that alone made possible the final victory of the armies.² The crisis weighed so heavily on Ellsworth's mind that three days later he wrote again to the governor, and in a style that was, for him, uncommonly moved and personal. This letter runs:³

Permit me as a private citizen to express my wishes that the late resolutions of Congress on the subject of finance may meet your Excellency's approbation and support. Your Excellency must have long seen with alarming apprehensions the crisis to which a continued depreciation of the paper currency would one day reduce our affairs. It is now, Sir, just at hand. Without more stability in the medium, and far more ample supplies in the treasury than for months past, it will be impossible for our military preparations to proceed, and the army must disband. The present moment is indeed critical, and if let slip the confusion and distress will be infinite. This, Sir, is percisely the point of time for the several Legislatures to act decidedly and in a manner that the world will forever call wise. It is now in their power by a

¹ March 20, 1780, Trumbull Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, seventh series, III, 26-28.

² For a somewhat gloomier view of the situation, see a letter from Madison to Jefferson, written one week later. *The Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 59-61.

³ March 23, 1780, Trumbull Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, seventh series, III, 28-29.

single operation to give a sure establishment for publick credit, to realize the publick debt at its just value, and, without adding to the burdens of the people, to supply the treasury. To furnish one common ground to unite their exertions upon for the accomplishment of these great purposes, your Excellency will easily perceive to be the spirit and design of the resolutions above referred to. They speak a language too plain to need any comment. I will only add concerning them that they have been the product of much labor and discussion; and tho' some States may have reason for thinking they are not the best possible, yet they are the best Congress could agree upon; and should these be rejected I confess I do not well see on what ground the common exertions of the several States are to be united and continued hereafter.

Never eloquent on paper, Ellsworth here reveals, more fully than in any earlier writing that has come down to us, how deeply his reserved, cautious, but constant nature was moved by whatever affected the cause he was toiling for in such unshowy ways. Washington might have written very much in this fashion; indeed, there are letters of his to governors and to Congress that are not dissimilar in tone. Biographers of Washington are not wrong in praising his incessant wrestling with Congress and the states for the means to carry out his plans; but they sometimes, one feels, fail to remember that Congress could not do more than it was doing. Throughout the spring and well into the summer Ellsworth was still occupied with the baffling task of Congress to secure money without taxation. At last, in June, as a member of another committee, he helped to carry through a plan which proved to be the beginning of better things.¹ It was Robert Morris's scheme of a subscription to secure supplies for the army, with the guaranty of Congress that the subscribers should be repaid; and it took a form which made it, if not precisely a bank itself, the predecessor of the first of the national banks. Ellsworth's committee having reported in favor of the proposal, it was hastily indorsed, the guaranty was given, and a standing committee, with Ellsworth at its head, was appointed to coöperate with the officers. The relief it gave to Washington can scarcely be overestimated.

Meanwhile Ellsworth's letters, taking a wider and wider range, had been keeping the governor informed of many things which he might otherwise have been slow to learn. For the enemy were now transferring their activities to the south, and the wiser heads were also looking, more and more hopefully, to Europe, where diplomacy was much engaged with American affairs.

Ellsworth watched the movements of our allies and the general

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VI, 95.

European situation with a clear understanding that the outcome of our struggle did not depend on our own exertions alone¹; and he was also not unmindful of the work of the Spaniards along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico—an episode of the conflict which historians have generally underestimated or neglected—but followed with an interest justified by the outcome the expedition of Galvez against the British province of West Florida. In a letter written in May, he discussed, with what was for him unusual fullness and freedom, the state of England and the general character and prospects of our struggle.²

England, he declared, could not obtain in Europe any help whatever in her warfare with America. She was, therefore, going on with a pretense of self-sufficiency—"much perhaps as a merchant sometimes on the eve of bankruptcy makes an uncommon parade of wealth and business, in order to keep up the delusion till chance may have had time to achieve something in his favour." Moreover, England was, he thought, ready to be crushed with debt. Her revenues being fully charged with the interest, she could only hope to reduce the principal "by a sponge or revolution". Meanwhile, county conventions in various parts of the kingdom were forming, under the first characters, bent upon reducing within proper bounds both the public expenditures and the powers of the crown. He argued from all this that Great Britain would soon "cease from troubling us".

Ellsworth was here deceiving himself, as were others also, concerning the imminence of a collapse of England's credit. Her marvelous powers of endurance and recovery, and the soundness of her financial system, were soon to bear the test of wars far longer and more costly than the war in America. But he was wise to draw encouragement, even at a time when all the news from the southward was bad news, from England's international isolation and from the temper of the English people themselves; an admirable English historian of the period³ is making it clearer than ever that from first to last a great part of the people of England, possibly the greater part, opposed the policy of the king and his ministers with the colonies. Ellsworth had soon to announce to the governor that Charleston had fallen early in May, and before he returned to Connecticut the enemy were overrunning the Carolinas. Gates's defeat at Camden and Arnold's treason at West Point were still to

¹ January 26, 1780, Trumbull Papers.

² May 9, Trumbull Papers.

³ Sir George Otto Trevelyan.

follow. Yet the chances are that during the long period which elapsed before he was again in Congress he remained—and not without reason—hopeful of a final victory.

Perhaps his entering on the duties of yet another office was one of the reasons why this time he stayed so long away from Philadelphia. He was this year chosen a member of the governor's council, and the governor's council in Connecticut, besides its merely advisory function, was the upper house of the legislature; and the legislature was still the supreme court of errors. Membership in the council, therefore, was not a sinecure, but imposed activities that were now executive, now legislative, and now judicial. As Ellsworth remained a member until 1785, and was still district attorney for Hartford county, he held, from this time until the end of the war, apart from whatever share he still had in the work of the Pay Table, three public offices. It should be added that in 1779 he had been chosen to the Connecticut council of safety for a year. Few Continental Congressmen can have had better excuses for their absences.¹

When he did go back, in June, 1781, it was for the least important, as well as the briefest, of his terms of service. Ill health was his reason for cutting it so short. As early as the first of August he wrote to Trumbull that he found himself too unwell for a constant attendance in Congress, and that his family and business also called him home. He urged, therefore, that some other member of the delegation be sent on by the first of September.

Meanwhile Sherman was again his colleague, and they wrote somewhat more cheerfully than the year before concerning the state of the finances and the outlook for the cause. For one thing, the Articles of Confederation were now in force. Other facts of the situation, hopeful and discouraging, are set forth in a letter from Sherman and Ellsworth to Trumbull, written early in July.² They reported that in the market at Philadelphia the prices of many articles of country produce were nearly as low for hard money as before the war, but that the new Continental and state bills were no better than five for one in specie. Robert Morris had lately entered into the office of Superintendent of Finance, and much was expected from his abilities. No journals of Congress had been printed since December, for want of money to pay the expense. The regulation of the clothing department had been lately altered, and the several

¹ *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut, 1776-1781.*

² July 12, 1781, Trumbull Papers.

states excused from procuring any accounts of the United States after the first day of September. The Connecticut delegates had opposed this change, fearing lest the army suffer by it, and feeling that the people could supply many articles of clothing much more easily than they could raise the money to buy them. It was expected that the emperor of Prussia and the empress of Russia would soon offer to mediate. Military affairs to the southward were also much more hopeful.

Still, there was work enough to do, and Ellsworth had his share of it. Morris's management of the finances had doubtless convinced Congress by this time that all the departments ought to have single heads, and Ellsworth served on the committee to apply this principle to the marine.¹ Other subjects with which he dealt as a member of various committees were General Greene's conduct of the southern campaign, the pay of delegates from several southern states too poor to sustain their representatives, the traitorous commerce of New-Yorkers with the enemy, and a proposed convention with France concerning the interchange of consuls, vice-consuls, and agents.² On several of these committees Madison, now by long continuous attendance risen to much influence, was also a member. Van Santvoord, closely studying the motions and the roll-calls on questions of a sectional nature, finds that on all such issues Ellsworth stood with his New England colleagues, sometimes clearly opposing the interests of South Carolina and other southern states, which were now championed in Congress by John Rutledge. It is true that on a motion to send some arms into South Carolina for the use of the militia Ellsworth moved to amend by leaving the disposition of the arms entirely to Greene.³ He also wished to postpone, perhaps to kill, a motion to relieve certain wretched inhabitants of South Carolina, recently released by a cartel from a cruel imprisonment.⁴ Georgia and the Carolinas having furnished supplies to the armies in that quarter, it was proposed to credit them with a proportionate allowance on their quotas of taxation, and this too he opposed. Unquestionably there was in Congress at this time plenty of sectional feeling and a lively bickering among the states. But these facts are not enough to prove that Ellsworth was ever governed by merely sectional devotions and antipathies. He did support the motion to provide for the unpaid southern delegates.⁵ Slow as

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VII, 141, 152.

² *Ibid.*, 157, 158, 165, 168, 177; *Secret Journals*, III, 20.

³ *Journals of Congress*, VII, 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

he was to follow Madison and Hamilton on the road to nationalism, he seems to have been rather exceptionally broad in his patriotism, keeping always first in his desires the objects that were common to men of the patriot party everywhere.

Before he came again to Philadelphia, the greatest of these objects was substantially secured. Peace had not been declared, but the fighting was over. Commissioners at Paris were negotiating with the envoys of England and of France treaties which, whatever else they might contain, would, it was soon quite certain, concede the independence of America.

Notwithstanding that it was fifteen months from his last appearance in Congress, it is clear that Ellsworth took again, and at once, a place among the leaders. Madison and Rutledge were still members, and in November, 1782, Alexander Hamilton had joined them. The *Journals* afford material for the inference that these three, with Ellsworth and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, were the foremost men in the chamber during the following winter and spring. Their names appear again and again whenever really important subjects are dealt with. Fortunately, also, we are no longer dependent entirely on the *Journals* for our knowledge of the proceedings. During the autumn, Madison, an admirable reporter, had begun to take down the substance of the speeches. Some months later the house voted down a motion of Hamilton to open its doors to the public whenever the finances should be up¹; but Madison's notes went far to open them for later generations.

There was at this time a distinct revival of energy in Congress. The end of the fighting, which had released some able men from military service to share in the debates, had also, of course, brought new questions to decide; and there were other questions, equally pressing, which had been held back until the peace should be achieved. Foremost of them all, however, was still the old and unsolved problem of how the general government was going to sustain itself and meet its obligations without the power to raise money either by customs duties or direct taxation. Morris had exhausted all his skill in borrowing; to pay the loans he had contracted, to redeem the still outstanding paper currency, to devise a sure and steady inflow of revenue—these things were beyond his power unless the states, as well as Congress, should hold up his hands. The Articles had left the right of laying taxes with the states; and these, now that the crisis was past, were sunk into a

¹ Ellsworth voted against this motion when it was renewed in April. *Ibid.*, VIII, 252.

stolid inactivity worse than that of two years earlier. Morris had to report that on the requisition of 1782 only South Carolina had paid her quota in full, and that was in supplies to troops within her borders. The proportions of their several quotas paid in by the other states ranged from one-fourth by Rhode Island down to one-one-hundred and twenty-first by New Hampshire. From three states nothing whatever had been received.¹ "Imagine", Morris wrote to Franklin in January, 1783, "the situation of a man, who is to direct the finances of a country almost without revenue, (for such you will perceive this to be) surrounded by creditors, whose distresses, while they increase their clamors, render it more difficult to appease them; an army ready to disband or mutiny; a government, whose sole authority consists in the power of framing recommendations."² It is no wonder that a fortnight later he wrote to Congress: "If effectual measures are not taken by [the end of May] . . . to make permanent provision for the public debts of every kind, Congress will be pleased to appoint some other man to be the Superintendent of their Finances."³ Nor is it any wonder that Congress did not accept his resignation. He yielded, and kept his office, perhaps in hope that through a change in the system something might be done to relieve both him and the country from their humiliating plight.

That was the pressing business of the hour. A few saw also beyond the hour and strove to turn the situation to such account that the system might be fitted for the permanent and constant duties of a real government in time of peace. Of these Hamilton was the ardent leader. Fresh from the office of Continental receiver for New York, he knew at first hand the utter inefficiency of requisitions as a means of revenue. During the summer he had drafted for the New York legislature some resolutions which were sent to Congress, urging a general convention to amend the Articles. He had come himself to Congress mainly to see if it were possible to build up, on the basis of the Articles, a government strong enough to live. Restless under makeshifts and impatient with incompetence, he went at his purpose with an energy that sometimes frightened where it did not overcome. Madison, who had long been gravitating to the same general desire, pursued it much more cautiously and tactfully. Wilson of Pennsylvania was an able third. Rutledge was the stoutest champion of the states. Ellsworth occupied the middle

¹ W. G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution*, II, 55.

² Sparks, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, XII, 310.

³ *Ibid.*, 326.

ground and took, for the time, a course that was moderate to the point of hesitation. In this he doubtless correctly represented his section; for in the movement for a stronger government New England had as yet but little share. Moreover, the delegates from Massachusetts had fallen below Connecticut's in point of ability and influence; and neither Rhode Island nor New Hampshire had a commanding voice. Unsustained by any clearly national impulse in the people behind him, and without support from any New England colleague of more than ordinary force, Ellsworth, not unnaturally, was slow to accept a leadership so radical and fiery as Hamilton's. He and Rutledge were soon again at issue over plans to relieve the state of South Carolina¹; but on the bigger issues he found himself at first quite as close to the South-Carolinian as to Hamilton and Madison and Wilson.

He had been but a few days in his seat when the whole subject of finance was again, in a most unpleasant fashion, forced to the front. Another scheme of revenue had come to failure. Nearly two years earlier Congress had asked from the states authority to lay an impost of five per cent. on all imports, and with this request all but two states had in some sort made compliance. Georgia had failed to act at all, but only Rhode Island, which derived a considerable revenue from imports intended for Connecticut, had positively refused. A committee was appointed to visit the greedy little state and urge the scheme upon her governors. But when the emissaries were about to take their departure, word came that Virginia also, having once consented to the impost, had now reversed her action.

This was at the end of 1782. Before a week of the new year was passed, a committee of officers from the army at Newburg arrived in Philadelphia with the solemnest and sternest of appeals for payment of the troops. Not even the constantly recurring rumors of peace with independence could long divert the members of Congress from what, in a letter home, Madison described as the cloud that was lowering on the North river. The one stubborn fact that overhung and darkened all things was the fact of bankruptcy. From this time until the middle of April, save for certain necessary interruptions to attend to the peace treaty, Congress, now by special committees, now by a general committee of the states, now in committee of the whole, was searching for a way to solvency and honor.

The debate took a wide range, for in the general problem there were many specific perplexities. The officers demanded not merely present pay but security for arrears, compensation for deficiencies in

¹ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 48; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 316.

rations and clothing, and commutation of their half-pay for life, which Congress had already voted, into an equivalent in gross. There was the foreign debt, and Morris's statement that he could negotiate no more loans until the old were somehow secured and interest provided. There were the various forms of the domestic debt, with the claims of different classes of creditors and the frequently conflicting interests of the various states. But it all came back to the main question, How could money be obtained? Hamilton, Madison, and Wilson at once declared that nothing would serve but general or Continental taxes, whether by impost or excise. The states must grant this power to Congress, or the Confederation, now that it had won its independence, would fail from sheer and ignominious weakness. But a group of lesser men, led by Rutledge, and including Madison's own colleagues from Virginia, opposed this policy at every turn. They would adhere to the Articles; they feared and distrusted tyranny at home quite as much as they had feared and distrusted it in the Parliament and the king across the water; they would never consent to give into the same hands "the purse and the sword". This last was a favorite catch-phrase.

Ellsworth's first reported speech came on a day of general debate,¹ and Hamilton's reply to it, followed by Madison's cooler and more cautious argument, marks the high tide of the whole prophetically interesting discussion. The question was on Wilson's motion, modified by Madison, "That it is the opinion of Congress that the establishment of permanent and adequate funds to operate generally throughout the U. States is indispensably necessary for doing complete justice to the Creditors of the U. S., for restoring public credit and for providing for the future exigencies of the war."² When the two opposing views were set before the house,

Mr. Ellsworth acknowledged himself to be undecided in his opinion; that on one side he felt the necessity of continental funds for making good the continental engagements, but on the other desponded of a unanimous concurrence of the States in such an establishment. He observed that it was a question of great importance, how far the federal Gov^t can or ought to exert coercion against delinquent members of the confederacy; and that without such coercion no certainty could attend the constitutional mode which referred every thing to the unanimous punctuality of thirteen different councils. Considering therefore a continental revenue as unattainable, and periodical requisitions from Congress as inadequate, he was inclined to make trial of the middle mode of permanent State funds, to be provided at the recommendation of Cong^s, and appropriated to the discharge of the common debt.

¹ January 28, 1783, *ibid.*, 335-340.

² *Ibid.*, 334.

Hamilton's quick reply¹ disclosed the defect of his extraordinary quality. Too strenuous in his statesmanship to yield to merely politic considerations, and neglecting the one ground on which Ellsworth had criticized his policy—namely, that it was impracticable—he dwelt at length on the sure inadequacy of the other's proposal and then, utterly disregarding the suspicions of the states'-rights party, boldly avowed that one reason why he wished Congress to have the power in question was because the energy of the central government was, in general, far too slight. It was not strong enough, he said, to pervade the states and draw them into a union. He considered, therefore, that "it was expedient to introduce the influence of officers deriving their emoluments from and consequently interested in supporting the power of, Congress."

Madison saw the blunder, and jotted down in his notes—perhaps on the very instant:

This remark was imprudent and injurious to the cause w^{ch} it was meant to serve. This influence was the very source of jealousy which rendered the States averse to a revenue under collection as well as appropriation of Congress. All the members of Congress who concurred, in any degree with the States in this jealousy smiled at the disclosure. Mr. B[land] and still more Mr. L[ee], who were of this number took notice in private conversation, that Mr. Hamilton had let out the secret.²

A moment later, when Madison himself rose to speak for the resolution, he showed how indispensable to such a leadership as Hamilton's was his own perfect poise, his tact and courtesy, his patient fairness with all points of view. These two, wittingly or not, were already entered on the task of building for the young confederacy a true constitution of government. They were trying now to set in place the only corner-stone from which that edifice could possibly arise. It is doubtful if in the long struggle with public opinion which was thus beginning the quick and darting genius of Hamilton would ever have prevailed had there been no Madison to smooth the way, to placate opposition, to do, in fine, whatever genius leaves to talents, industry, and judgment—if, indeed, these gifts in Madison do not also deserve the name of genius. Stating first, with masterly clearness, the problem of the hour, he took up, one by one, the various plans suggested, and showed conclusively that none of them would work in practice without that great concession of the power to tax which states'-rights men revolted at.³ It is hard to see how any open mind could long hold out against his reasoning. Ellsworth, clearly, was one of those whose minds were open. The

¹ *Ibid.*, 335.

² *Ibid.*, 336.

³ *Ibid.*, 336–340.

next day, Wilson proposing an elaborate scheme of taxation, and Rutledge answering with a plan to ask the states to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports to pay the foreign debt, each state to be credited, on its quota of the debt, with such amounts as might be gathered at its ports, he criticized both proposals. Madison reports¹:

Mr. Elseworth thought it wrong to couple any other objects with the Impost; that the States would give this if any thing; and that if a land tax or an excise were combined with it, the whole scheme would fail. He thought however that some modification of the plan recommended by Cong^s would be necessary. He supposed when the benefits of this contin^l revenue should be experienced it would incline the States to concur in making additions to it. He abetted the opposition of Mr. Woolcot² to the motion of Mr. Rutledge which proposed that each State should be credited for the duties collected within its ports; dwelt on the injustice of it, said that Connecticut, before the revolution did not import $\frac{1}{50}$, perhaps not $\frac{1}{100}$, part of the merchandize consumed within it, and pronounced that such a plan w^d never be agreed to. He concurred in the expediency of new-modelling the scheme of the impost by defining the period of its continuance³; by leaving to the State the nomination, and to Congress the appointment of Collectors or vice versa; and by a more determinate appropriation of the revenue. The first object to which it ought to be applied was he thought, the foreign debt. This object claimed a preference as well from the hope of facilitating further aids from that quarter, as from the disputes into w^{ch} a failure may embroil the U. S. The prejudices agst making a provision for foreign debts which s^d not include the domestic ones was he thought unjust and might be satisfied by immediately requiring a tax in discharge of which loan-office certificates should be receivable. State funds for the domestic debts would be proper for subsequent consideration. He added, as a further objection against crediting the States for the duties on trade respectively collected by them, that a mutual jealousy of injuring their trade by being foremost in imposing such a duty would prevent any from making a beginning.

He was still inclined to a compromise position, but the movement of his mind was plainly toward the policy of a stronger central government. Leaving about this time, he was gone till April, but very soon after his return it appeared that common-sense, and perhaps also a broadening sense of his own duty, were fast overcoming his states'-rights scruples. During his absence the party in favor of giving to the government strength enough to meet its obligations had had the better of it in debate. Events outside had been constantly supplying them with telling arguments and instances. Morris's letter, for a while kept secret, had been given to the country.

¹ *Ibid.*, 348-349.

² Oliver Wolcott, Sr., his colleague. Madison seems to have had a hard time with New England proper names, *e. g.*, Sherman appears sometimes as Sharman, Gorham, of Massachusetts, constantly as Ghoram, and Ellsworth as Elseworth.

³ The period proposed was twenty-five years.

France, the leading foreign creditor, had sharply demanded that Congress take some action on her claims and Holland's. The army's discontent had seemed for a time to be fast turning into mutiny. Washington, though he quelled the disposition toward violence, plainly declared that in his opinion his soldiers' wrath was just. By the middle of April, Congress was brought to a general scheme. It included both the federal impost of five per cent. and also, on certain articles of general use, specific duties. There was, besides, a requisition on the states based on population, instead of land, which was the basis fixed by the Articles; and it was agreed that in estimating population five negro slaves should count as three white freemen. Four years later, in the Federal Convention, these proposals became the basis of more than one quite momentous agreement. They passed on April 18, and Ellsworth voted for them. He had doubtless by this time quite abandoned his preference for permanent state funds. The proposals, however, were themselves a compromise. They were so far short of Hamilton's desire, and he had so little hope in them, that he would not vote for them. Nevertheless, he and Madison and Ellsworth were appointed a committee to commend them to the states. The moderate but strong address they sent out to the legislatures was the work of Madison. A fortnight later¹ Ellsworth wrote to Trumbull:

A plan of revenue for funding the publick debt, which has taken up much time in Congress, will be immediately forwarded for the consideration of the States, accompanied with the documents necessary to give information relating to that important subject. As was natural to expect at the close of so long a war, we find a considerable debt on our hands, which, all will agree, it much concerns our national character and prosperity to provide for, how various so ever may be the opinions as to the mode of doing it.

It is significant, also, that Ellsworth should have been set at the head of a committee of nine which was now at last appointed to consider the New York resolutions, which had been before Congress more than a year. It was a strong committee, names like those of Hamilton and Wilson coming after Ellsworth², but there is no record of anything done in the matter of a convention while Ellsworth was the chairman. This, however, does not prove that there was nothing done; for after the passage of the revenue measure Madison's notes grow scantier and he is constantly referring us to the keyhole glimpses which are all the *Journals* afford. We know that in June, backed by Hamilton, Ellsworth was urging Congress to

¹ May 13, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

² Bancroft, *History of the United States* (ed. of 1885), VI, 80, 99.

take a step essential to a stronger union by completing the transfer of Virginia's western claims to the Confederation.¹

Meanwhile, in foreign affairs also, and particularly in the business occasioned by the peace, he had been conspicuously employed. Early in the winter, when a Rhode Island delegate had wished permission to send to the governor of his state certain extracts from letters from Europe, Ellsworth and Hamilton served on a committee which reported against the proposal.² A few days later, with Hamilton and Madison, he reported in favor of a treaty of amity and commerce with the Netherlands. In this report, one of the longest ever made to the Congress, there was included the treaty itself and a series of forms and blanks for the various interchanges of officials and of courtesies which it called for. "Both the Committee and Congress", Madison remarks, "were exceedingly chagrined at the extreme incorrectness of the American copies of these national acts." The debate that followed led to a motion for the purchase of a few books of reference for the use of Congress in such cases, and that motion was, no doubt, the beginning of the history of the libraries of Congress and the Department of State. But it was not the actual beginning of those libraries. Not even "a few hundred pounds" could be spared for such a purpose.³

The first of May, while there was still nothing to go on but the preliminaries to the peace treaty, Ellsworth, Hamilton, and Rutledge reported, in reply to a letter from John Adams, instructions favorable to a treaty of commerce with Great Britain.⁴ Again with Hamilton and Madison, and with Wilson also, Ellsworth concurred in a report directing Washington to occupy the frontier forts as soon as the British should give them up.⁵ When the provisions of the treaty were fully known, he and Hamilton advocated a call on the states to carry out the recommendation concerning the Tories,⁶ and they were both on a committee which drew up an address to the states urging them to conform in all good faith to such provisions as had to do with confiscations and with debts due from Americans to Britons.⁷

¹ *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 474.

Journals of Congress, VIII, 88-89. He was also on the committee which reported against a claim of certain Rhode Island officers based on the depreciation of the money they were paid in.

² *Ibid.*, 91-109; *Secret Journals*, III, 289-318; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 318-319.

³ *Secret Journals*, III, 340. Madison ridicules this letter of Adams for its palpable self-seeking and self-praise, *Writings* (Hunt's ed.), I, 461.

⁴ May 12, *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 259.

⁵ *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 463.

⁶ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 266-268; *Secret Journals*, III, 355-357.

Ellsworth was one of those in whom the war had left but little rancor. He was also one of those who felt, even at this time, that the United States had nothing to gain from any lowering of England's rank among the nations. Writing to Trumbull, he argued that England's debt, and the great expense of her peace establishment, which in his judgment had forced her to treat with America, would also probably insure her good behavior for a long time yet to come; and he added:

Neither the safety of this country, or the ballance and peace of Europe requires that Great Britain should be at all more reduced than she in fact is. And it is by avoiding that distraction of counsels and corruption of manner which have brought her down that America can hope to rise, or long enjoy the blessings of a revolution which under the auspices of Heaven she has gloriously completed.

Here was a temper prophetic of the Federalist to be; the Revolutionist, as well as the states'-rights man, was moving with the current of events, open-eyed to new conditions. No sentimentalist, he would let the dead past bury its dead. On the question of ratifying the provisional articles without waiting for the definitive treaty, "Mr. Ellsworth", Madison reports,² was strenuous for the obligation and policy of going into an immediate execution of the treaty. He supposed that a ready and generous execution on our part w^d accelerate the like on the other part." For some reason, when a treaty of amity and commerce with Russia was up, he made and carried, Madison opposing, a motion to limit it to fifteen years.³ But his views on foreign affairs seem to have been, as a rule, liberal and unprovincial, and not without enlightenment and insight. Early in May he wrote to his colleague, Wolcott, who had gone home⁴:

Nothing yet appears to induce a suspicion that the treaty will fail of being carried into effect, on both sides, as fast as the nature of the case will admit. Certainly, we cannot wish to see it violated or annulled; nor has Great Britain so much reason to be dissatisfied, under all circumstances, as North, Fox, and their partisans pretend,—for their object probably is to hunt down the present minister, and to transfer the popular odium from the criminal to the executioner. If Great Britain, induced thereto by the folly of the former administration, must make us independent of herself, it is wise in her to do so with grace, and in a manner that shall also keep us independent of France.

May 13, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

² April 14, *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 450.

³ *Secret Journals*, III, 350-354.

⁴ May 6. Wood Manuscript. The Honorable Joseph Wood, who was Ellsworth's son-in-law, left in manuscript a lengthy life of the chief justice. Sometimes tedious, nearly always dry and prosy, it contains, however, more information concerning Ellsworth's personal history and characteristics than any other single piece of writing.

He was no such Anglophobe as Rutledge and others were plainly showing themselves to be, and had not in him the making of a partizan of France. But neither, on the other hand, was he enamored like Hamilton of the British system. When news came of the famous coalition of Lord North with the Whigs, he wrote to Trumbull¹:

The packet . . . brings a list of the new British Ministry established the 2^d of April, which I take the liberty to inclose. From the strange coalition of which it is formed, there is little reason to doubt but that another change, of a partial nature, will follow as soon as the present convulsed state of that nation shall have subsided. Lord North, who is the fixed favorite of his sovereign and a man of the most system, business and address, will easily find means to lay aside M^r Fox and his coadjutors when he can well do without them, as he has already done with regard to one set of opponents whom he let come forward to perish in the odium of executing measures which himself had rendered necessary.

He served, again with Hamilton and Madison for colleagues, on the committee which had in charge the general subject of neutrality agreements.² But the most distinguished conjunction of the three names was on still another committee, appointed early in April, "to provide a system for foreign affairs, for Indian affairs, for military and naval establishments; and also to carry into execution the regulation of weights and measures and other articles of the Confederation not attended to during the war".³ The task was nothing less than the devising of a complete system of permanent administration. The honor of being joined with such men, in such employment, can scarcely have come to Ellsworth unless it came for one of two good reasons: he was either judged by his fellows in Congress to be one of the three men in their number worthiest of high offices, or he was taken as the foremost of New England's representatives.

He continued to be called on for such high services throughout the spring, and until the busy session came to its humiliating close. He himself does not seem to have foreseen or dreaded any such émeute as that which drove the delegates away from Philadelphia. His letters contain no such gloomy forebodings of the conduct of the unpaid troops as Madison's are filled with. He had written to Wolcott, early in May,⁴ that three months' pay would probably be made to the army on disbandment, one-third in cash, the rest in Mr. Morris's notes; and that Morris would remain in office until all his

¹ June 4, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

² *Secret Journals*, III, 366-368.

³ *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 441.

⁴ May 6, 1783. Wood Manuscript. See also Ellsworth to Trumbull, May 13, 1783, Trumbull Papers.

engagements should be fulfilled. When the question arose, whether to discharge the troops or merely give them furloughs, he was for discharging them at once. Even so late as June 18, 1783, he was writing to Trumbull, apparently without uneasiness²: "The furlow'd part of the army are on their way home. Some are arrived here from the southward. They receive three months' pay, but all in Mr Morris's notes which run six months." Yet it was but three days later that a band of about five hundred mutinous soldiers of the Pennsylvania line surrounded the state-house where Congress was sitting, and with arms in their hands demanded a settlement of their accounts. Sitting under the same roof was the executive council of Pennsylvania; and to this body Congress sent at once a committee—Hamilton, Ellsworth, and Peters—to take order for the calling out of the state militia. But the council would not act. Congress finally adjourning, the troops permitted the members to disperse. Reassembling that evening, Congress voted that in case no means should be found to put down the rioting the President should summon them to meet at Princeton or at Trenton. Hamilton and Ellsworth, serving as a committee of conference with the Pennsylvania authorities, failed to bring them to any determined action, and the President issued his summons. At the end of June, therefore, Congress reassembled at Princeton. Hamilton, for the committee, made a report which seemed to reflect severely on the Pennsylvania authorities, and on complaint from the council Ellsworth merely moved a resolve which exonerated that timid body from any active part in the insult to Congress. Another committee, Hamilton, Ellsworth, and Bland, reported an order to General Howe to march on Philadelphia; but Washington, deeply mortified at what had happened, was already taking measures to put down the mutiny.³ Congress was not further molested, and Ellsworth remained at Princeton about a fortnight longer. Late in July, the two Huntingtons arrived, and Samuel Huntington took his place on the committee to consider New York's proposal of a general convention.

This was the end of Ellsworth's services in Congress. Writing to Trumbull on July 10,⁵ he gave, in his usual matter-of-fact way, a moderate version of what had happened, and added:

¹ May 20. *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 468.

² Trumbull Papers.

³ *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 279-287, 292; *Writings of Madison* (Hunt's ed.), I, 482-484; Bancroft, *History of the United States*, VI, 97; *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-1789*, I, *passim*.

⁴ For other services of Ellsworth in Congress in this period, see *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 91, 124-125, 176-177, 261.

⁵ Trumbull Papers.

How long Congress will remain here is uncertain. They will hardly return to Philadelphia without some assurances of protection, or even then with intention to stay longer than till accommodations shall be elsewhere prepared for a fixed residence.¹ But, Sir, it will soon be of very little consequence where Congress go, if they are not made respectable as well as responsible, which can never be done without giving them a power to perform engagements as well as make them. It was indeed intended to have given them this power in the confederation, by declaring their contracts and requisitions for the common defence sacredly binding on the States; but in practice it amounts to nothing. Most of the States recognize these contracts and comply with the requisitions so far only as suits their particular opinion and convenience; and they are the more disposed at present to go on in this way from the inequalities it has already produced, and a mistaken idea that the danger is over; not duly reflecting on the calamities of a disunion and anarchy, or their rapid approach to such a state. There must, Sir, be a revenue some how established that can be relied on and applied for national purposes as the exigencies arise, independent of the will or views of a single State, or it will be impossible to support national faith or national existence. The powers of Congress should be defined, but their means must be adequate to the purposes of their institution. It is possible there may be abuses and misapplications; still it is better to hazard something than to hazard all.

It is not surprising that he was unwilling to come back to Congress,² or that, the next year, he also declined an election to the Board of Treasury, a commission set up for the management of the finances, in place of Robert Morris, who had finally withdrawn—or, as he himself probably considered, escaped.³ The choice of Ellsworth to this office by his former associates was a high tribute to his capacity, but not to his shrewdness. His severe judgment of the Confederation is even more convincing than Hamilton's, who went home in complete despair of it; for Ellsworth, never given to crossing bridges until he got to them, had come to his conclusions slowly. Always accepting dutifully the tasks assigned him, he had done his part well in the civil business of the strife for independence. Holding, doubtless, that to each day its own evil is sufficient, he had not pressed forward in time of war to grapple with the problems of the hoped-for peace. Now, however, that peace was come, even his unflinching and conservative intelligence could not longer fail to see

¹ Ellsworth had been on the committee to consider the question of permanent residence, but the subject was postponed until autumn. *Journals of Congress*, VIII, 271.

In May, 1783, he was elected for the year beginning November 30, 1783. He resigned, however, and another was elected in his place. *Roll of State Officers and Members of General Assembly of Connecticut*, 460.

³ The Board was instituted May 28, 1784, and six days later Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Ellsworth, and William Denning were elected commissioners. *Journals of Congress*, IX, 255-256, 309.

that there must be some very radical changes. Perhaps his gift of shrewd and practical analysis enabled him to see also that the time was not yet quite at hand; or perhaps, on the contrary, we must conclude that he was lacking in that rare, militant ardor of reform with which Hamilton was so abundantly endowed. At any rate, until the time was fully come, and through the tireless labors of Madison and Hamilton and Washington and a half-dozen other kindred spirits a great occasion was prepared, Ellsworth had no part—certainly no conspicuous part—in the movement for a new and stronger Constitution. He passed, instead, quietly back into the labors of his profession and the service of his state.

WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

THE INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE¹

WHEN the Seven Years' War, with its American phase, the French and Indian War, resulted in giving to Great Britain a clear title in America to all the country east of the Mississippi river, the British government was confronted with an Indian question requiring a better solution than was to be found in the uncertain and somewhat shifting policy that had hitherto prevailed. The problem was not the simple one of providing an adequate defense for outlying colonial settlements against Indian attacks; to protect the Indians in the possession of their hunting-grounds was of equal moment. The significance of the latter motive can only be appreciated when it is recognized that this was undertaken, not merely to safeguard an abstract right, but also because it was a measure of practical necessity in the interests of the fur-trade. There were other aspects of the problem, for other interests were involved, but none which need to be considered here beyond the very evident fact that the government was unwilling, particularly just at this time, to be put to any great expense.

The question was not a new one. It began with the arrival of the first colonists, and became of increasing importance with each successive advance of settlement. But it had been a local question or, rather, a series of local questions, until the expansion of the colonies had brought about the final struggle with the French. During that struggle to some extent, but still more plainly when Britain had succeeded France in control of Canada, and her possessions formed an unbroken whole from north to south and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the Indian question was no longer local; it was continental in its scope and demanded an adequate solution. Pending the adoption of a definitive policy as well for the government of the new possessions as for the settlement of the Indian question, a royal proclamation was issued on October 7, 1763.² This

¹ Mr. Ernest Hawley Duval, a graduate student at Leland Stanford Junior University, has been of great assistance in the preparation of this article. In addition to this, Mr. Duval prepared the accompanying map, page 784.

² Text in *Annual Register*, 1763, 208-213. As preliminary to the proclamation, cf. instructions to the colonial governors, *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 478-479; *New Jersey Archives*, first series, IX, 321-329. The purpose of the proclamation of 1763 has ever been disputed. The position here taken that it was temporary in its nature is clearly revealed in the official correspondence, references to which are given in subsequent notes.

proclamation erected separate and distinct governments in Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida; and for the protection of the Indian hunting-grounds it forbade the granting of lands in these new colonies beyond their respective boundaries, and in the other colonies "for the present . . . beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or north-west."¹

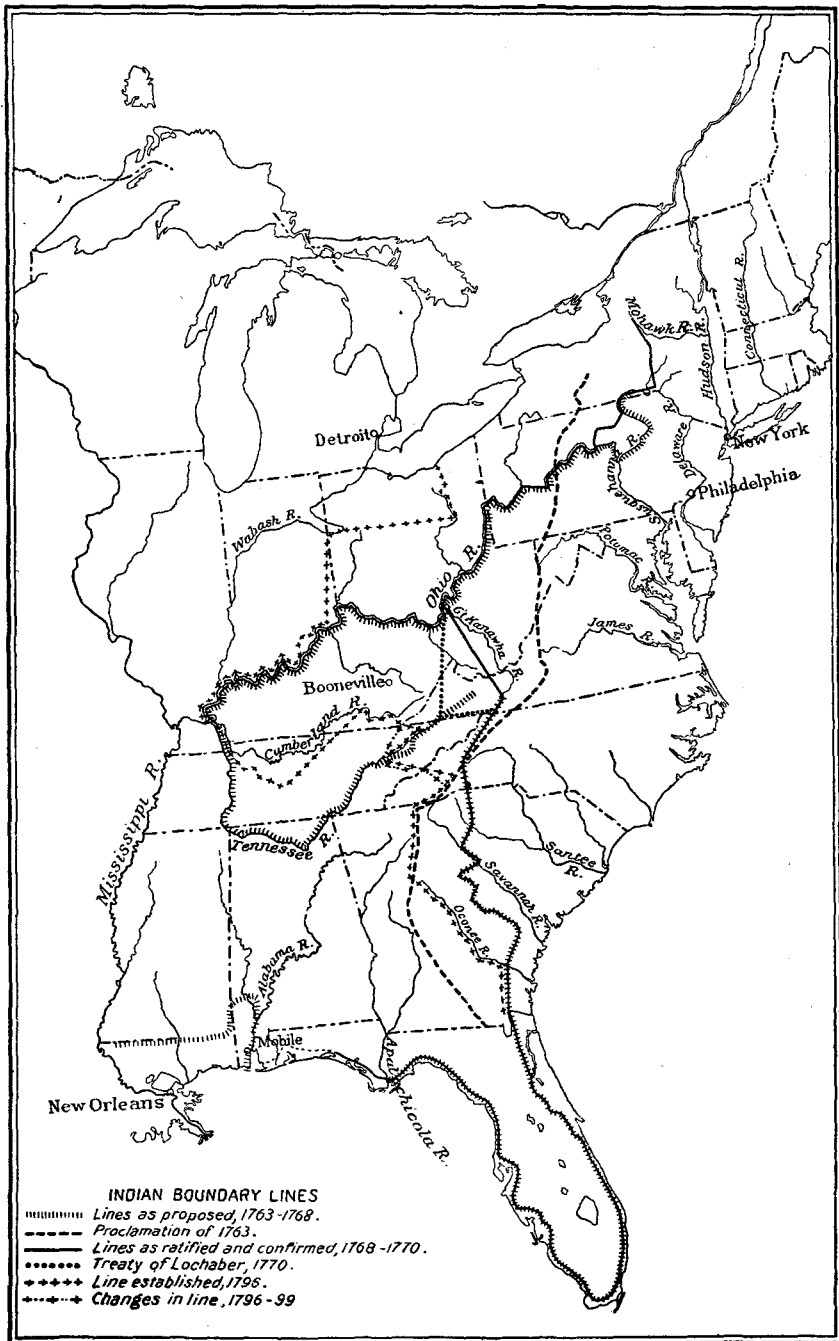
The Lords of Trade, to whom the management of Indian affairs was intrusted, set about their task with an evident appreciation of the importance and of the difficulty of the undertaking. At every stage of their deliberations, so far as time and distance would permit, they sought the advice of the superintendents of Indian affairs—Sir William Johnson of the Northern District, and Captain John Stuart of the Southern District. The first draft of a bill to be submitted to Parliament was held back to await the reports of the American superintendents; and when their letters had been received, the Lords of Trade acknowledged that these "have enabled us to make additions to and improve our plan". The heads of the plan as thus modified were then sent to Johnson and Stuart "for your opinion upon it which . . . we hope to receive . . . before the meeting of Parliament".²

Just when and how the idea originated, of a continuous boundary line to separate the whites and the Indians, it is perhaps impossible to determine. In all probability, however, it was a matter of slow growth. The establishment of a more or less definite line to mark the limits of the whites or of the Indians, as the case might be, had been a practice almost universal. As colonial settlements expanded and united action in dealing with the Indians became more common, the extension and unification of such lines was an inevitable result. It is not surprising then to find Sir William Johnson, as his jurisdiction comprised a definite section of the colonies and in the main a single confederacy of the Indians, strongly advocating in 1763 "that a certain line should be run at the back of the Northern Colonies, beyond which no settlement should be made, until the whole Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof".³ Dean Tucker's fanciful scheme, to guard against the incursions of the Indians by "clearing away the woods and bushes from a tract of land, a mile in breadth, and extending along the back of the colo-

¹ The line thus established is shown on the map on page 784.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 535-536, 572-581, 634-636; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 189-192.

³ *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 578, 603; *New Jersey Archives*, X, 112, note 1.



nies",¹ could hardly have been taken seriously or have exercised any considerable influence in shaping the governmental policy in this particular. Both the superintendents recognized that encroachments upon their lands were the chief ground of Indian complaints and the cause of war; accordingly they urged the establishment of a boundary line, and it is a sufficient explanation of the adoption of this feature of policy. Indeed, it is the explanation the Lords of Trade themselves gave for the "provisional management in the proclamation of 1763" and for the proposal in the plan prepared in 1764.²

The heads of the plan, which was prepared in 1764 and submitted to the superintendents in America with a request for their opinions upon it, outlined in forty-three sections or articles a somewhat elaborate scheme for the future management of Indian affairs.³ The forty-second article proposed "That proper measures be taken with the consent and concurrence of the Indians to ascertain and define the precise and exact boundary and limits of the lands which it may be proper to reserve to them and where no settlement whatever shall be allowed." Johnson and Stuart both approved the plan,⁴ yet the British government failed to act. Johnson attributed this "to the late disturbances in the Colonies that required so much the attention of his Majesty's Ministers",⁵ and the Lords of Trade admitted that it was owing to "other pressing business".⁶ When action was finally taken in 1768, the plan of 1764 was laid aside. It was explained that this was because of the difficulty and expense involved,⁷ but Colonel Guy Johnson was probably right in ascribing this unfavorable action to the influence of "some Indian traders", whose interests were affected.⁸

When the proposals submitted in 1764 seemed to promise the fulfilment of their recommendations, both Johnson and Stuart apparently felt that the formal enactment of the plan was only a question of time. At any rate, although they were quite unauthorized to do so, the superintendents proceeded to negotiate with the Indians of their respective districts upon the all-important subject of the

¹ *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Sparks's ed.), III, 47-48, note.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 1004.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, 637-641; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 182-189.

⁴ *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 657-666; VIII, 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 835-836.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 842.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 24, 55-56, 57; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 319-320.

⁸ *New York Colonial Documents*, VIII, 655. For a similar instance of trading interests influencing the British government, see Parkman's explanation of the determination of Braddock's line of march through Virginia and Maryland instead of the more direct route by way of Philadelphia. *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Frontenac edition), I, 203-204.

boundary line.¹ Johnson, as was natural from his long experience of the uncertainty of royal approval, proceeded cautiously. In a conference with the Six Nations, held in the spring of 1765 for a very different purpose, he broached the subject, but, as he was careful to explain in his report to the Lords of Trade, "I only proposed it as a matter verry essential to their own Interest."² The suggestion met with the Indians' approbation, and after some little negotiations, which were handled with Johnson's usual skill and address, a line that was satisfactory to both parties was tentatively agreed to. Sir William promised to "lay the same before the great King, which is all can be at present done in it".³ And he again took occasion to say, "as what you have proposed about the Boundary is your own free proposition . . . I expect never to hear any grumbling about it . . . ; if the King approves of what is done, . . . you shall have notice of it."⁴

Colonel Stuart in the Southern District acted more boldly and without reservation. Within two years after receiving the proposed plan for the management of Indian affairs, he entered into a series of treaties with the Southern Indians supplementing the treaty of Augusta of 1763, by which a continuous boundary line between the whites and the Indians was established beginning at a point near the southern boundary of Virginia, running south and west at the back of the Carolinas, bending somewhat toward the east in Georgia, and including the tide-water limits of East Florida.⁵ It was evidently intended to extend this line as far as the Mississippi river, but its exact determination in West Florida is somewhat doubtful,⁶ and there appears to have been somewhat of a break between the Appalachian river and Mobile bay.⁷ This line was not merely

¹*New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 1004-1005; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 536-538.

²*New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 711-712.

³*Ibid.*, 733.

⁴*Ibid.*, 734.

⁵The determination of the Indian boundary line was made a special subject for investigation with a small class of advanced students at Stanford University, who were of great assistance in the settlement of doubtful points and in furnishing data for the map that accompanies this article.

⁶This uncertainty has been reduced to a minimum through the courtesy of Honorable Peter J. Hamilton of Mobile, who furnished information, subsequently embodied in a communication to the *Clarke County* (Alabama) *Democrat*, March 30, 1905, which determines the location of this line quite accurately and somewhat differently from that which he had earlier stated in his *Colonial Mobile*.

⁷Except in so far as this may have been covered by the very indefinite line in the treaty with the Creeks at Pensacola, May 28, 1765. Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions", *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 560.

agreed upon, but in some places it was actually surveyed and marked.¹

The responsibility now rested with the British government to approve or reject the actions of its American agents. Toward the close of 1767 the Lords of Trade reported to the earl of Shelburne what had been done,² and in March, 1768, a more detailed report was made to the crown with the formal recommendation that the boundary line be ratified.³ Shortly afterward instructions were given to the superintendents in America to ratify and confirm the lines agreed upon in such manner as to form a continuous line from north to south.⁴

In the south Stuart apparently had little difficulty in carrying out his orders. Two treaties were concluded, one with the Cherokees on October 14, and one with the Creeks on November 12, 1768, by which the former line—back of the Carolinas and Georgia and around East Florida—with very slight modifications was formally confirmed. In accordance with his instructions the line back of Virginia was carried from its earlier termination to the junction of the Kanawha and the Ohio, thus rendering possible a line continuous with that in the north.⁵ In the far southwest the line was continued to the Choctaw river emptying into Santa Rosa bay, but beyond that point, quite probably because of the difficulty of assembling the Choctaws who were then at war with the Creeks, no record of any action appears.⁶

Johnson's task in the north was a more difficult one, and the negotiations in the well-known treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768 were continued over several weeks. Through New York and Pennsylvania the line agreed upon in 1765 with some important extensions was successfully established, but it was not carried to the northern

New York Colonial Documents, VII, 1004-1005; VIII, 22-34; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 281, 313-325; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 468-471.

New York Colonial Documents, VII, 1004-1005; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 536-538.

New York Colonial Documents, VIII, 19-34; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 313-331.

New York Colonial Documents, VIII, 2, 35-36, 55-56; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 707-709; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX, 552-553.

North Carolina Colonial Records, VII, 851-855. C. C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians" (*Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 146), evidently relying upon J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 77, which in turn was based upon John W. Monette, *Valley of the Mississippi* (New York, 1846, 2 vols.), I, 352, has been misled as to the location of this line which was agreed upon with the Cherokees at Hard Labor, 1768.

⁶ *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 866; *New York Colonial Documents*, VIII, 160-161.

boundary of New York because it was believed that this could be accomplished more advantageously at some other time. To render the line continuous with that in the south was finally deemed inadvisable. The Six Nations claimed the land between the Ohio and Tennessee rivers as theirs by right of conquest, and in assertion of their sovereignty they insisted upon ceding it to the British. Rather than lose the other advantages obtained, Johnson accepted this, although by so doing he disregarded his instructions and formed an overlapping instead of a continuous line.¹ Mainly on this account, but also because other unwarranted matters were included in the treaty, the British government hesitated to give its approval. When, however, it was evident that Johnson had acted for the best, he was empowered to ratify and confirm the line as agreed upon.² This was formally done in July, 1770,³ and the line was afterward surveyed and marked.⁴

In the meantime, an important modification of the line in the south was being made. It was found that certain settlements were west of the line established at the back of Virginia. Accordingly quite early in 1769 Stuart had been instructed to negotiate with the Cherokees for a new line to include these lands. By the treaty of Lochabor, October 22, 1770, it was agreed that the Indian boundary should be marked by a continuation of the southern line of Virginia to where it intersects the Holston river, and from that point by a direct line to the junction of the Great Kanawha with the Ohio.⁵

Thus after several years of earnest endeavor and careful negotiations the desire of the American superintendents of Indian affairs was an accomplished fact. A definite line separating the Indians from the whites had been agreed upon, officially approved, and was a recognized feature of the British Indian policy. In the treaties by which this was established it was agreed that neither whites nor Indians should make any settlements or encroachments upon the lands reserved to the other unless cessions of such lands had been

¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 110-137, 152.

² *Ibid.*, 144-145, 158-163, 165-166, 179-182, 211-212, 222-223.

³ *Ibid.*, 224-244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 548-562. There seems to be a prevalent impression (cf. Winsor, *Westward Movement*, 20) that the Fort Stanwix line was never formally approved by the British government. The evidence on the other side, however, as given in the above references seems irrefutable.

⁵ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IX, 360-364. It was afterward discovered that the principal settlements meant to be included were south of the Virginia line and within the boundaries of North Carolina. This confusion led in the formal treaty to the description of a line geographically impossible. The statement made above in the text is in accord with the evident intention of the treaty.

previously made by persons properly authorized. And it was a part of the general plan that the colonies should pass laws for the observance of this agreement.¹ In many places the natural features of the country were sufficient to mark the line clearly. Where this was not the case, care was taken that no one should trespass unwittingly. In 1769 Stuart wrote to Hillsborough from Charles Town² "I . . . rode along that part of it [the Boundary Line] which divides this Province from the Lands reserved by the Indians it is marked at least 50 feet wide the Trees within which Space are blazed on both sides."³ The success or failure of the policy under British administration could not be determined, for the troubles that culminated in the Revolution were already absorbing the attention of both England and the colonies, but that the establishment of a boundary line was considered the most satisfactory solution of a difficult question is evidenced by later developments.

For some time after the treaty of 1783 had formally recognized the independence of the United States, relations with the Indians were in a condition far from satisfactory.⁴ Animositities kindled in the war were not yet quieted. A firm and consistent policy was required, and this was impossible. Even if individual states had not insisted upon the right of dealing independently with the Indians, Congress was hardly competent to handle the question. Several futile attempts were made by Congress to establish a uniform line in the region northwest of the Ohio,⁵ and in the south the states were handling the question according to local interests and prejudices.⁶ In consequence the Indian policy was characterized by a greater uncertainty than had prevailed before 1760.

With the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1789, a change was made for the better in the establishment of a central government with competent authority to handle the situation, but for a few years

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, VIII, 23, 56, 133; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, IX, 552, 555; *North Carolina Colonial Records*, VII, 708.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 1-2.

³ The accompanying map is designed to show the approximate limits of settlement placed by the proclamation of 1763, with the boundary line as it was first negotiated with the Indians in the treaties of 1765-1768, and as it was finally ratified. For purposes of comparison the line that was later established by the United States government, with its subsequent modifications, is also given.

⁴ Between 1770 and 1783 different cessions of land were made by the Indians and, though these cessions made no specific reference to the boundary line, they necessarily affected the line established later by the United States.

⁵ October 15, 1783, May 20, 1785, *Journals of Congress* (Washington, 1823), IV, 294, 520; *Secret Journals of Congress*, I, 255-262, 274-279; *Pennsylvania Archives*, X, 119-124, 561-562.

⁶ *Journals of Congress* (ed. of 1823), IV, 766-768, August 3, 1787.

the improvement was not marked. Then came Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, and the resulting treaty of Greenville in 1795 established a definite line for the Northwest Territory. At the same time the victories of Sevier and Robertson in the south, with the treaties following, established a similar situation in that section of the country. Congress promptly took advantage of the opportunity and passed an act¹ unifying the results of the various treaties and establishing a continuous boundary line from Lake Erie to Florida, which was to be distinctly marked. To settle, to range stock, to hunt, or, in the south, even to cross without a passport, beyond the boundary, was made punishable with imprisonment of from three months to a year, or with a fine of from fifty to one thousand dollars. Indian lands could be obtained only by treaty "entered into pursuant to the constitution" and negotiated by duly authorized officials of the United States. Before this act had expired in 1799 another was passed, which was virtually a reënactment of the former, except that the boundary line was modified in accordance with the treaties that had since been made.² The same action was repeated in 1802.³

The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 modified the conditions but did not materially alter the feature of Indian policy we are considering. It was now possible to offer the Indians an almost unlimited extent of territory if they would consent to move out beyond the settlements upon the Mississippi. It is worth noticing that it was neither Jackson, nor yet Monroe, but Jefferson who inaugurated this so-called "removal policy", and that it was formally broached in one of the first acts with reference to the new possessions.⁴ Thirty years later, when the removal policy was being successfully carried out, Congress established by statute⁵ the "Indian Country", consisting of the United States territory west of the Mississippi not included in the states of Missouri and Louisiana and the territory of Arkansas. It was, of course, nothing more nor less than the old Indian boundary line reestablished beyond the Mississippi. There was, however, this important difference: the United States and not the Indians determined the location of the line. It was also the beginning of the end. The expansion of population to the Pacific, the adoption of regular routes of travel, the guarding with United States troops of those routes and of the settlements that were established, hemmed in the Indians first on one side and then on another.

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, May 19, 1796, chap. 30.

² *Ibid.*, March 3, 1799, chap. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, March 30, 1802, chap. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 26, 1804, chap. 38, section 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1834, chap. 161.

And when the Indians were completely surrounded, the reservation system was only a question of time.

Aside from any intrinsic value in the study here presented, a distinct interest attaches to it as another illustration of the development of British colonial practice into American national policy.

MAX FARRAND.

WILLIAM WALKER AND THE STEAMSHIP CORPORATION IN NICARAGUA

THE romantic features of Walker's filibustering expeditions to Nicaragua have tended to obscure certain more prosaic and yet quite important phases of his undertaking. The Anglo-American's love of excitement and adventure, his belief that it is the manifest destiny of his race to control the whole American continent, and the desire of the slave states for a southward expansion of American territory—these indeed were potent factors in producing the phenomena of filibustering; but these alone do not account for Walker's remarkable career of two years in Central America. To accomplish his purpose of "regenerating" the isthmus and founding there a military empire, Walker needed not only an army, but also ships and money; and these two necessities were not supplied by zealous champions of territorial expansion or slavery propagandism, but by a syndicate of New York and San Francisco capitalists, who hoped to use the filibuster general for furthering their interests in Nicaragua.

Our information concerning this phase of Walker's history is derived mainly from four contemporary accounts and from the official reports of American diplomatic and naval officers, which are on file in the government archives, and some of which have been printed in the public documents. Of the four contemporary accounts, one was written and published by Walker himself,¹ another by one of his followers,² and the other two by American consular agents who were in Central America during the period of Walker's activity.³ Mr. James Jeffrey Roche has made use of part of this material in preparing an admirable popular account of filibustering,⁴ but for other purposes it has scarcely been touched.

For a full understanding of Walker's dealing with the steamship corporation in Nicaragua, it is necessary first to describe the establishment of the transit routes across the isthmus. In 1849 the overland journey to California was not only long and difficult, but

¹ William Walker, *The War in Nicaragua* (Mobile, 1860).

² Charles William Doubleday, *Reminiscences of the "Filibuster" War in Nicaragua* (New York, 1886).

³ Peter F. Stout, *Nicaragua: Past, Present and Future* (Philadelphia, 1859); William V. Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua* (New York, 1856).

⁴ James Jeffrey Roche, *Byways of War* (Boston, 1901).

also very dangerous, and in the search for a better line of travel the attention of Americans was directed to Central America, where two routes were available, one through Panama and the other through Nicaragua. A treaty with the republic of New Granada at this time gave the United States a right of way between Chagres and Panama, and a railway was finally built across the isthmus. Steamers on the Atlantic from New Orleans and New York to Aspinwall, and on the Pacific from Panama to San Francisco, furnished the most expeditious route to the gold-fields.¹ In August, 1849, an American syndicate, consisting of Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and their associates, entered into a contract with the republic of Nicaragua, by which the company secured a right to construct at its own expense a canal through Nicaraguan territory, provided the work could be completed within twelve years. The charter also gave the company a monopoly of the transit across Nicaragua and the exclusive right of navigating the interior waters of the state by steam. As it proved impracticable to begin the construction of the canal, a modified charter was drawn up in 1851, which separated the canal contract from the rest of the privileges granted, and secured to the corporation, now styling itself the Accessory Transit Company, the sole use of a line of transit from Greytown on the Caribbean sea to some point on the Pacific.² This new route, which was opened in 1852, was in some respects superior to the one by way of Panama, inasmuch as it reduced the distance between New York and San Francisco by five hundred miles and enabled the passengers to make all but twelve miles of the journey by water. Passengers from New York and New Orleans would land at Greytown, proceed in boats of light draft up the San Juan river to Lake Nicaragua, and cross the lake in larger steamers to a point on the west shore called Virgin Bay. From here they were conveyed in carriages over a macadamized road to San Juan del Sur, and there took the steamer for San Francisco. Reports show that in one year twenty-four thousand passengers traveled between the eastern states and California by way of Nicaragua. It is thus that this portion of the continent was brought into close relations with the great republic in the north.

¹ See J. M. Letts, *California Illustrated* (New York, 1852), chaps. xxx-xxxiii.

² Minister J. H. Wheeler to Secretary Marcy, August 2, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 84-102; Stout, *Nicaragua*, chap. xxvi; House Executive Document 103, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 84-102.

³ *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXIX, 314-316; *The Destiny of Nicaragua* (Boston, 1856), 38-40.

Fortune-seekers now began to direct their attention to Central America, hoping to acquire riches from the undeveloped fields and mines. On August 15, 1854, among the California passengers embarking for Nicaragua were William V. Wells and Byron Cole, two members of a San Francisco company that had been recently organized for the purpose of developing the mining resources of Honduras.¹ Though seemingly insignificant, this event was productive of important results, inasmuch as it proved to be the preliminary step to Walker's entrance into Central America. Wells was making the journey with a view of obtaining information about the gold-fields near Trujillo, and Cole was accompanying him for the purpose of seeing what American enterprise might accomplish in Nicaragua. When these two Americans landed at San Juan del Sur, the Nicaraguan republic was in the midst of one of its periodic revolutions. The Democrats and the Legitimists were in arms and engaged in a partizan struggle characterized by none of the usages of civilized warfare. With much difficulty Wells and Cole made their way to Leon, the headquarters of the Democratic army, where they parted, Wells going on his way to Honduras, while Cole tarried at Leon and became acquainted with the Democratic leaders.

Cole had for a time been one of the proprietors of a California newspaper edited by William Walker. In the summer of 1853 Walker gave up the newspaper business, and a few months later he achieved much notoriety by an attempt to set up an independent republic in Lower California. This attempt had been a complete failure, but Cole had retained an unshaken confidence in Walker's ability, and suggested that he make a similar effort in Nicaragua, where the chances of success appeared more favorable. Soon after Cole met Castellon, the Democratic leader, he proposed that the Nicaraguan general should strengthen his forces by inviting Walker to bring a company of Americans to Nicaragua to enter the Democratic service. The proposition was received favorably, as the fortunes of Castellon's party were on the wane. A contract was then drawn up, by which three hundred Americans were to be brought to Nicaragua to enter the Democratic army, and were to receive a stated monthly pay and a grant of 21,000 acres of land at the end of the campaign. Cole returned to California and submitted the contract to Walker. The document, in Walker's opinion, not only violated the letter of the neutrality laws, but did not offer sufficient inducement for the risks involved. Cole therefore made another trip to Nicaragua and made a second contract, whereby the land-

¹ Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 41.

grant was increased to 52,000 acres and the Americans were designated as colonists.¹ The new contract was taken to Mr. S. W. Inge, the district attorney in San Francisco, and also to General John E. Wool, commander of the Department of the Pacific. The former expressed an opinion that action under the contract did not violate the neutrality laws, and General Wool stated that he had no authority to interfere unless requested to do so by the civil officers.² The possibility of governmental interference was thus removed.

By private subscription Walker raised enough money to procure a small amount of supplies and the use of a leaky old brig, the *Vesta*. On April 20, 1855, his followers had embarked and he was ready to sail, but the sheriff appeared and served a writ of attachment for a debt against the owner of the vessel. The filibusters' financial difficulties at this time refute the later statement that the expedition was fitted out with funds supplied by the Transit Company. Two weeks were spent in arranging matters with the sheriff and the creditors, and at last, early in the morning of May 4, 1855, the *Vesta* put to sea with fifty-eight Americans, the nucleus of Walker's future army. On June 16, after a rough voyage, a landing was made at Realejo. The Americans were gladly received by Castellon, and were organized into the American Phalanx, Walker retaining his title of colonel. In order that he might recruit his ranks from the passengers to and from California, Walker at once plantèd himself on the transit road. In his first brush with the enemy, June 29, he was badly beaten. In a second skirmish, however, at Virgin Bay, September 3, the Americans were victorious, and were left in full control of the transit.

So far Walker had been acting entirely on his own resources, with only such paltry assistance as could be obtained from a few friends in California. He had left behind him in San Francisco two friends and agents, Edmund Randolph and A. P. Crittenden, charged with the duty of procuring supplies and reinforcements. On October 3 the steamer *Cortes* arrived from San Francisco, bringing a handful of recruits that were badly needed, and on the same steamer came C. J. McDonald, a confidential agent of Cornelius K. Garrison, the San Francisco manager of the Accessory Transit Company.³ McDonald's arrival was most welcome to Walker, for

¹ *Ibid.*, 41-43; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 24-25; *Dublin Review*, XLIII, 367-369.

² Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 27-29. See also a letter from General Wool in the *New York Times*, July 23, 1857. Walker says that General Wool not only promised non-interference, but also wished the undertaking much success.

³ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 127.

it indicated a willingness on the part of a group of financiers to assist the Americans in establishing themselves in Nicaragua. We have no means of knowing what occurred at the first meeting of McDonald and Walker. It is certain, however, that the Americans at once took possession of the Transit Company's lake steamer *La Virgen*, embarked at Virgin Bay, moved quickly up the lake to Granada, the capital and the Legitimist stronghold, and captured the city without a battle. This movement was so unexpected that the entire Legitimist force was at Rivas, a town some thirty miles south of Granada, and the city was almost without a garrison.¹ Intrenched in the capital, Walker was practically master of the state. But the use of the company's steamers was not without its disastrous effects. After the boats had been pressed into service a few times the natives were unable to determine whether they were carrying neutral passengers or hostile filibusters. As a result, a steamer loaded with persons from California on their way to the States was fired upon by the Legitimists, and a woman and a child were killed. About two hundred and fifty passengers waiting at Virgin Bay for a steamer were also attacked, and a large number were killed and wounded.² Walker sent word to Corral, the Legitimist leader, that the families of Granada would be held as hostages subject to the good behavior of the Legitimists; and that general began to sue for peace. By a treaty signed October 23, the warring factions agreed to forget their differences and form a new government in which both sides should be represented. Patricio Rivas, a man who was regarded as a neutral, was made provisional president, Corral became minister of war, and Walker was made commander-in-chief of the army of the republic.³

To start the machinery of the new government, money was necessary. Owing to the constant revolutions the treasury was empty—if indeed it had ever been otherwise. At this juncture McDonald again came forward and proved a friend in need by offering to

¹ *El Nicaraguense*, October 20, 1855; Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 61-70; Wheeler to Marcy, October 14, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 109-118; Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 22 ff.

² Commodore Paulding to Secretary Dobbin, December 21, 1855, and January 22, 1856, MS., Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, I, 98, 116, 120, 121; Wheeler to Marcy, October 23 and 30, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 22-32.

³ Wheeler to Marcy, October 30, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 125-134; Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 77-82.

advance Walker the sum of twenty thousand dollars. He showed a power of attorney from Garrison, the San Francisco manager of the Transit Company, empowering him to act as general agent in Nicaragua; and, after satisfying himself as to McDonald's authority, Walker agreed to his proposition. The money was immediately forthcoming, for McDonald simply extracted that amount of gold bullion from a shipment in transit from California. McDonald gave to the owners of the bullion drafts on Charles Morgan, the company's New York manager, for the value, and these drafts were duly honored. The Nicaraguan government pledged itself to repay the amount out of the annual payments the company made to the state for the enjoyment of its franchise.¹

Although Walker's star now seemed to be in the ascendant, his situation after the treaty of peace was indeed very critical. His handful of followers were surrounded by the unstable natives whom they had fought but had not subdued, and the Americans were liable at any moment to be exterminated in a popular uprising. Walker had a sense of his danger and felt the need of increasing at once his force of Americans. After signing the treaty of October 23, one of the first things he did was to write to Crittenden, his friend and agent in San Francisco, stating that any arrangement that could be made with the manager of the Transit Company for bringing five hundred Americans to Nicaragua would be acceptable. Garrison at once came to the rescue, and recruits began to arrive in large numbers from California. In nearly every instance he gave the men free passage; and all this, it should be noted, was done without the knowledge of Rivas and his cabinet. Finally, in December, 1855, Garrison sent his son to Granada to make arrangements with Walker for securing some return for the assistance rendered. With young Garrison, as an earnest of his good intentions, came a hundred recruits, who, as usual, received free passage. After his interview with Walker, Garrison went to New York and conferred with Charles Morgan, the company's manager in that city.² What occurred at the conferences in Granada and New York can only be surmised from what followed.

It is an established principle that a business corporation never spends its money unless it expects something in return; and the question naturally arises as to what Walker's benefactors hoped to gain from him. It was generally known in the United States during the fall of 1855 that the company was rendering Walker val-

¹ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 127-128.

² *Ibid.*, 149-151.

uable service, and the prevailing opinion was that the expedition was fitted out by the transit officials in the hope of introducing a stable American element into Nicaragua and thus putting an end to the revolutions that were so injurious to the company's interests.¹ Subsequent developments, however, proved this idea to be erroneous. Within the company itself at this time there were serious dissensions, a struggle between rival parties of stock-holders to get control. The faction headed by Morgan and Garrison was now doing Walker a good turn, believing that at the proper moment the filibuster general would reciprocate. To explain the motives of this group of capitalists, it is necessary to show the relation of the Accessory Transit Company to the Nicaraguan government. When the company made the contract with Nicaragua in 1849, it agreed to pay the state annually the sum of ten thousand dollars until the construction of the canal should be completed; and for the exclusive right of navigating the interior waters and opening a line of transit across the isthmus it agreed to pay ten per cent. of the profits derived from the transit route. From 1849 to 1855 inclusively the corporation had paid regularly the annual dues of ten thousand dollars, but it refused to pay the ten per cent. of the profits. The transit officials were very careful to keep no records in Nicaragua that would enable the government to determine the amount the company had received or how much of this amount had been clear gain. The number of passengers and the shipments of freight and specie were known to be very large, but the company's system of bookkeeping gave the state nothing on which to base a claim. Only a week before Walker had landed in Nicaragua the Legitimist government appointed two agents to proceed to New York and

¹ The *Philadelphia American and Gazette*, November 15, 1855, contained the following editorial: "Walker, it seems, represents a more substantial organization than a mere band of filibusters. In fact, it is generally asserted and believed that his expedition was projected, supported and maintained by the Transit Company. That corporation has a capital of three million dollars. His expedition looks too well organized and supplied with munitions, money and men, to be based on his own efforts. The company undoubtedly sent arms to Nicaragua, which fell very suspiciously into Walker's hands, and the transit steamers were yielded to him with a facility which is singular, in view of the small force he commanded."

On December 14, 1855, Attorney-General Cushing wrote as follows to S. W. Inge and Pacificus Ord, the United States attorneys at San Francisco and Monterey, respectively: "I am directed by the President to address you further on the subject of the illegal military enterprises against the State of Nicaragua, which have been, and, as it appears, still continue to be carried on from the ports of California . . . Suggestion has been made of some complicity of the Nicaragua Transit Company in these acts, and that point may be entitled to your consideration." Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 11.

attempt to settle the claim by negotiation or arbitration. The Nicaraguan agents, perhaps without any definite idea as to what was really due the state, claimed thirty-five thousand dollars. The company offered to settle for thirty thousand, and the offer was rejected. Both parties then agreed to refer the matter to special commissioners for arbitration. The company, however, did all it could to delay matters, and before the commissioners could begin work the Nicaraguan government changed hands, Walker having taken possession of the capital. In such a state of affairs further proceedings had to be abandoned.¹

Matters were in this condition when Morgan and Garrison entered into negotiations with Walker. Their plan was very simple: the filibuster general, by virtue of his authority, was to use the government's claim against the Transit Company as a basis for annulling its charter and confiscating its property, while Morgan and Garrison, in return for the help they had given Walker, were to receive the property of the old company and a charter giving them power to form a new company for doing a transportation business within the territory of Nicaragua. Before breaking with the old company, however, Walker decided to negotiate with its officers in New York for a settlement of the claim and see what could be obtained in that quarter. Accordingly, in December, 1855, Parker H. French, who was sent to the United States as the representative of the Rivas-Walker government, was empowered to ask satisfaction for the claim of the Nicaraguan republic against the Accessory Transit Company. As an easy means of settlement, French proposed that the company carry emigrants to Nicaragua at the rate of twenty dollars per head—a rate considerably lower than the usual fare—and that the amount due the company for their transportation should be charged to the state and deducted from whatever sum the company might owe the Nicaraguan government. Had Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and other officers of the corporation suspected the designs of Morgan and Garrison, they would not have consented to such an arrangement; but they only knew the weakness of their side of the controversy with the Nicaraguan government and thought it necessary to grant French's request as a means of conciliation. They therefore agreed to the plan, provided the men were not organized into military bands, but proposed to go merely as emigrants. From the time of this arrangement, in December, 1855, till the latter part of the following February, the company carried about a thousand emigrants to Nicaragua.²

¹ Cornelius Vanderbilt to Secretary Marcy, March 17, 1856, *ibid.*, 120-121.

² *Ibid.*

Now that the steamship corporation was definitely committed to Walker's support, recruiting was conducted openly and on a great scale by his friends and agents. Advertisements were placed in the newspapers of New York and New Orleans in order to attract volunteers.¹ On December 23 District Attorney McKeon, of New York, ordered the customs officers to refuse a clearance to the company's steamer *Northern Light*, as it was expected that she would sail the next day with several hundred "emigrants" for the service of Walker. By some mistake the officials gave the *Northern Light* her clearance and refused it to another vessel instead, and on December 24 the steamer put to sea almost under the nose of the district attorney. A revenue cutter was sent down the bay in pursuit, and stopped the steamer by sending a solid shot across her bows. An investigation showed that there were three hundred and fifty filibusters on board. On being questioned, the men gave the details of their enlistment, which was unique. Several nights before the steamer's departure a rendezvous of the recruits was held in the city, and every man who avowed his intention of going to Nicaragua received a common black pantaloons-button, which was an "open sesame" to the ship. Each man on going aboard handed his button to an officer of the steamer and received a passenger ticket in return.² The detention of the steamer was followed by the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of Walker's minister, French, who had been quite active in the work of recruiting. French claimed exemption from arrest on the ground of his diplomatic capacity, and the puzzled district attorney applied to Attorney-General Cushing for instructions. Cushing replied that the American government had never recognized French as the lawful representative of Nicaragua, and that any diplomatic privileges that were extended to him were of mere courtesy and not of right, but that legal process would not be served on French if he would leave the

¹ In December, 1855, the following harmless-looking advertisement appeared in the journals of New York: "*Wanted*.—Ten or fifteen young men to go a short distance out of the city. Single men preferred. Apply at 347 Broadway, corner of Leonard Street, room 12, between hours of ten and four. Passage paid."

The notice in the New Orleans papers was more explicit: "*Nicaragua*.—The Government of Nicaragua is desirous of having its lands settled and cultivated by an industrious class of people, and offer as an inducement to emigrants, a donation of Two Hundred and Fifty Acres of Land for single persons, and One Hundred Acres additional to persons of family. Steamers leave New Orleans for San Juan on the 11th and 26th of each month. The fare is now reduced to less than half the former rates. The undersigned will be happy to give information to those who are desirous of emigrating. Thos. F. Fisher, 16 Royal St."

² New York *Tribune*, December 25, 1855.

country within a reasonable time.¹ The chief effect of the government's interference was to create a sympathy with the disappointed filibusters and make French a hero in spite of himself.

Within a week after Walker's capture of Granada, he began the publication of *El Nicaraguense*, a newspaper which was largely devoted to advertising the resources of the country; and its wide circulation in America created an impression in some quarters that Nicaragua was a land of the most fertile soil, the richest mines, and the most delightful climate. A decree of colonization, issued November 23, 1855, and published in the United States, provided that every immigrant to Nicaragua should be entitled to two hundred and fifty acres of land, and that immigrants with families should receive a hundred additional acres.² Following all this came the company's offer to take immigrants free of charge, and Walker had no lack of recruits. As a great part of them belonged to that class of floating population found in all cities, no objection to their departure was offered by the public, and, excepting the detention of the *Northern Light*, there was but little interference from the government.³

In fact, the relations of the Transit Company with the filibusters made it almost impossible to prevent illicit recruiting. There were always on the steamers, besides the recruits for Walker, large numbers of passengers intending to cross the isthmus for California or the eastern states, as the case might be, and the government officers had no accurate means of distinguishing the filibuster from the passenger.⁴ Moreover, it seems that the recruits were never organized on a military basis until they were beyond the jurisdiction of the

¹ McKeon to Attorney-General Cushing, December 26, 1855, and Cushing to McKeon, December 27, 1855, Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 13-14.

² *El Nicaraguense*, December 8, 1855.

³ In May, 1856, Señor Molina, the Costa-Rican minister, complained that not one of the filibusters detained had been convicted, and the most prominent ones had even received public ovations. He notified Secretary Marcy that, on April 10, 208 men had embarked publicly at New Orleans to the strains of a so-called Nicaraguan band, and their departure had been announced beforehand by the press. The disasters of the filibusters, he said, seemed to stir up a great number of sympathizers in all ranks of society. Molina to Marcy, May 22, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes, Central America, I.

⁴ District Attorney Inge, of San Francisco, declared that he could obtain no information that would justify the seizure of a vessel. Though many persons had left California to aid Walker, they had gone without visible arms and without organization, some avowing their purpose of settling as peaceful immigrants, others with through tickets to New York and claiming to be regular passengers. Inge to Cushing, February 4, 1856. Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 15.

United States, and though the expeditions were opposed to the spirit of the neutrality laws, it was often questioned whether they violated the letter. Even Secretary Marcy, who from the outset bitterly opposed the Nicaraguan enterprise, affirmed that if unassociated individuals left the United States they could go where they pleased and the government had no right to inquire into their motives.¹ District Attorney McKeon protested to Joseph L. White, the attorney for the Transit Company, against its alleged disregard of the neutrality laws. On behalf of the company White replied that it was "a corporate body, created by the law of Nicaragua," and was compelled to recognize the government that was in power in that country; that the conduct and course of the corporation would never be influenced by the government of the United States, nor did the district attorney's "grandiloquent boasting" that he would break up its business have any terrors for it.² This was all the satisfaction the government could obtain.

White was too confident, however, in the security of the company's position. He little suspected that within three months after his rather insolent defiance of the government his company would be appealing to this same government for protection against the man it had befriended. On February 18, 1856, Walker, having completed his arrangements with the representatives of Morgan and Garrison, sprang the trap. A decree was drawn up revoking the Transit Company's charter, appointing a commission to determine the exact amount due the state, and ordering that all the company's property be seized and held subject to the orders of the commissioners. The Nicaraguans had never cherished kindly feelings toward the transit officials, and Walker says that it was with undisguised pleasure that President Rivas, who up to this time had been kept in ignorance of the proceedings, signed the decree of revocation. But on the following day the smiles of the provisional president were changed to frowns, for he was asked to attach his signature to another decree, which gave all the rights of the company to the representatives of Morgan and Garrison.³ The publication of the decree of revocation was delayed somewhat in order to give Morgan and Garrison as much time as possible to get ready for

¹ Marcy to Marcoleta, April 25, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes, Central America, I.

² Scrap-book on Nicaragua, no. 2, p. 46, in Library of Congress, from the *New York Tribune*, December 25, 1855.

³ *El Nicaraguense*, February 23, 1856; Senate Executive Document 194, 47 Congress, 1st Session, 103-104; *New York Tribune*, May 14-15, 1856; Wells, *Walker's Expedition*, 203-220; Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 152-155.

business before the steamers of the old company should be withdrawn. This delay proved more advantageous than Walker had hoped; for nine days after the decree had been signed two hundred and fifty recruits left New Orleans for service in Nicaragua, their passage being advanced by Vanderbilt, who had not yet learned that he had been duped. If the decree had been made public on the day it was signed, Vanderbilt would have known of the transaction before the men embarked and would not have permitted their departure. "As it was," says Walker, "the price of these passages was so much secured by the State on the indebtedness due from the corporation."¹

The commission appointed to determine the amount of the company's indebtedness made its report early in August. As the book-keeping had not been done in Nicaragua, the commissioners were compelled to rely on private records and the testimony of the company's employees. They came to the conclusion that there was an average of two thousand passengers per month over the transit, each paying thirty-five dollars for his passage across the isthmus. The monthly receipts from passengers thus amounted to \$70,000. The aggregate specie shipments amounted to \$34,719,982, which, at the rate of one half of one per cent. of their value, brought in a revenue of \$4,890 per month. The receipts for carrying freight brought the monthly earnings to an aggregate of \$79,000. The legitimate expenses amounted to \$21,000, leaving a net profit of \$58,000 per month or \$696,000 per annum. Of this amount the state was entitled to ten per cent., or \$69,600 per annum, from August, 1851, to March, 1856. To this amount the commissioners added interest at six per cent. per annum, and, as the company had no representative on hand to prove that the annual payments of \$10,000 had been made, these were also added, bringing the total sum due the state to \$412,589.16.² These figures are of course absurd. It is inconceivable that the Nicaraguan commissioners appointed a year previously should have offered to settle the claim for thirty-five thousand dollars, when over ten times that amount was due the state. In making its report Walker's commission frequently found it necessary to use its imagination, and in this respect it seems to have excelled. As soon as the commission had completed its labors, all the property of the old company was sold to Morgan and Garrison. The sale was merely a redemption of the bonds that had been issued to them for money advanced to the government; the

¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

² Wheeler to Marcy, August 2, 1856, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II.

property was turned over to them, and they surrendered the bonds.¹

When the news of the transaction reached Vanderbilt he was greatly enraged. On March 17 and again on March 26 he addressed long letters to Secretary Marcy, requesting that the American government intervene and protect the property of American citizens in Nicaragua.² But there was small comfort to be obtained from the State Department. Mr. Marcy had not forgotten that a few months previously the corporation had continually disregarded the neutrality laws and had defied the American government, claiming that it took into consideration only the state of Nicaragua. He was also aware that the company had done a little private filibustering on its own account. On July 5, 1855, it had sent to Nicaragua a force of forty men, all foreigners, to serve as its special soldiers against one H. L. Kinney, an American adventurer, who was threatening to abuse the transit property at Greytown.³ The corporation's record had been unsavory from the beginning, and it was now reaping the fruit of its questionable policy.⁴

Failing to obtain satisfaction from the American government, the officers of the old company despatched to Greytown one Hosea Birdsall to seize all the transit property at that place, as well as any river boats that might arrive, and thus prevent newly arrived filibusters from going into the interior. In case the filibusters attempted to take possession of the boats, Birdsall was instructed to ask any British war-vessel in the harbor—one was always there—to assist him in protecting American property. He was made clearly to understand that with the coöperation of the British navy he must prevent recruits from reaching the filibuster camp and thus accomplish Walker's downfall. Birdsall caused the new company a little annoyance, but otherwise his mission was fruitless.⁵

The Transit Company's ocean steamers were withdrawn in March, and the new contractors were so slow in putting their line into service that Walker's interests were greatly jeopardized.⁶ For

¹ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 247-248.

² Senate Executive Document 68, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 120-121, 80-83.

³ Wheeler to Marcy, September 21, 1855, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua, II.

⁴ According to Mr. Ephraim G. Squier, American chargé d'affaires to Central America in 1849, the charter had been obtained during one of the revolutions from the Legitimist faction in return for certain necessities, such as arms and money, and had been contested by the opposing party. From that time on the history of the company had been "an infamous career of deception and fraud". Squier, *Nicaragua*, 689.

⁵ Paulding to Secretary Dobbin, Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, I, 202.

⁶ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 189-190.

six weeks the transit was practically closed, and the filibusters received no reinforcements or supplies. As soon as communication with the United States was reestablished, however, recruits began to pour in, and continued to come until the overthrow of Walker a year later. During the period from June to December, 1856, the filibuster régime appeared to be permanently established. In July Walker became president. A few weeks later a letter in which he disclaimed any intention of seeking annexation to the United States was published by the American press and served to alienate the sympathy of many of his supporters,¹ but at the same time he reestablished—on paper—the institution of African slavery in the republic and thus brought his cause more closely within the sympathies of the southern states.

Shortly after Walker's election to the presidency, a coalition of the Central American states was formed for the purpose of expelling the filibusters, and Vanderbilt found a way to get his revenge. An open transit was the key to the filibusters' strength. If by any means the enemy could get control of the San Juan river and seize the steamboats, no recruits could reach Walker from the Atlantic side; and, as passengers between New York and San Francisco could not cross the isthmus, the ocean steamers would be compelled to suspend operations. By blocking the passage of the San Juan, therefore, Vanderbilt could kill two birds with one stone, overthrowing Walker and at the same time driving the rival company out of business. Spencer, an agent of Vanderbilt, undertook to wrest the control of the river from Walker and seal the fate of the filibusters. From Costa Rica, one of the states of the hostile coalition, Spencer began his operations on December 16, 1856, by embarking with a hundred and twenty natives in canoes and on rafts and floating down the San Carlos river to a point where it joins the San Juan. Here he surprised and bayoneted a garrison of fifty men, then continued his journey till he reached Greytown on December 24. At this place he found and seized four river steamers. The American consul appealed to Captain Erskine, commanding a British squadron in the harbor, but the British officer declined to interfere. The captured steamers were taken up the San Juan, and General Mora with eight hundred more Costa-Ricans, well armed with Minié muskets and fixed ammunition supplied by Vanderbilt,² joined the party, took command, and captured two more steamers and the forts Castillo Viejo and San Carlos, which commanded the passage of the river.

¹ *Montgomery Mail*, December 2, 1856; *Putnam's Monthly*, IX, 430.

² Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 173 ff.

While the party was at San Carlos, the two lake steamers came up bringing American passengers from California, who knew nothing of what had occurred. The lake steamers were also seized, and the passengers were sent on to Greytown in one of the river boats.¹ This was the severest blow Walker had yet received. The loss of the lake steamers made it impossible for him even to come within striking distance of the enemy on the river. There was no practicable route around the lake, and he was therefore effectually cut off from all communication with the Atlantic seaboard. The recruits from California reached him without difficulty, but from the eastern states they were held up at Greytown. Here, in March, 1857, were five hundred men vainly endeavoring to break through the Costa-Rican posts on the San Juan and make their way to the filibuster camp. It was Walker's misfortune that these men who were unable to join his army were of a better quality and better equipped than any recruits he had yet received. They came chiefly from the southern states, where, with the diminishing chances of success in Kansas, attention was being directed more and more to Nicaragua as the next battle-ground of the slavery party.

The sufferings of the disappointed filibusters were terrible. Greytown was too small a village to furnish them subsistence, and for its own protection would not allow the starving men to enter the place without special permission. Malaria appeared, and there were two hundred sick. The inevitable withdrawal of the ocean steamers cut off all chance of returning home, and, rather than die of starvation, the Americans finally appealed to the British fleet for assistance.² Captain Cockburn, the senior British officer, carried three hundred and seventy-five of them to Aspinwall and endeavored to secure them passage on the mail-steamer for the United States. To his credit be it said that he offered to make himself individually responsible for twenty dollars for each of the two hundred men on his own ship. The mail-steamers refused to take the men as passengers, on account of an epidemic of measles among them, and Her Majesty's Ship *Tarleton* finally carried them to New Orleans.³

¹ A report of this exploit of Spencer's was published in the *Boletín Oficial de Costa Rica*, and a translation of the account may be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXXI, 544-545. See also Laurence Oliphant, *Patriots and Filibusters* (London, 1860), 170-190.

Marcellus French, captain of the Alamo Rangers, a company raised and equipped in San Antonio, Texas, for the service of Walker, was among these unfortunates. His story of the hardships of the Americans is given in the *Overland Monthly*, N. S., XXI, 517-523. See also Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 177-191.

³ Paulding to Secretary Toucey, MS., Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, II, 27 ff.; *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1857.

Vanderbilt's man had succeeded in doing what the allied Central American states could not accomplish. American capitalists had set up the filibuster dynasty in Nicaragua, and it was American capitalists that pulled it down.

Walker's situation daily became more critical. The allies closed in on his position and restricted his movements to a constantly narrowing circle. The native population had become actively hostile, many Nicaraguans joined the army of the allies, and after repeated misfortunes Walker's followers were becoming dissatisfied and discouraged. In February, 1857, President Mora, of Costa Rica, issued a proclamation offering protection and a free passage home to all who should desert Walker. Printed copies of the proclamation, scattered near the outposts of the filibuster army, soon found their way into camp and caused an epidemic of desertion.¹ But the heaviest blow was inflicted by Walker's former friends, Morgan and Garrison. The closure of the transit had destroyed their transportation business, and when in April they docked their steamers and left Walker to his fate the filibuster régime received its coup de grâce.

For a final effort Walker assembled his followers in the town of Rivas, and, though disease and desertion had thinned the ranks of the Americans, the allies could not drive them from behind the barricades. Commander Charles H. Davis, of the United States sloop-of-war *St. Mary's*, offered to intervene and bring hostilities to a close. He proposed that the filibusters should lay down their arms, evacuate Rivas, go aboard his ship, and return to the United States by way of Panama. The allies were quite willing to accept this proposition, as it accomplished their purpose without further bloodshed; but Walker, who appeared not to realize the hopelessness of his position, resented the action of the naval officer.² Finally, however, he yielded to the inevitable, and on May 1, 1857, surrendered to the American commander.³

With the failure of the first expedition to Nicaragua northern capital withdrew its support, and only with the help of the slavery party could Walker hope to regain his place on the isthmus. As he had looked to the steamship company for assistance when he first reached Nicaragua, so he now turned to Southern leaders for aid in recovering his lost power. Under the patronage of the southern

¹Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 382.

²In the harbor of San Juan del Sur was the schooner *Granada* in the possession of a squad of filibusters under Captain Fayssoux. Walker thought that if matters came to the worst he could cut his way through the enemy's lines and escape on this vessel.

³For details of the surrender, see Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 419-429.

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states he made a second expedition in November, 1857, but Commodore Hiram Paulding of the American navy landed an armed force at Punta Arenas and arrested the filibusters almost as soon as they set foot on Nicaraguan soil.¹ A third attempt in 1860 was frustrated by the British naval officer. Captain Salmon, who arrested Walker on the coast of Honduras and surrendered him to the natives for trial and execution.² It is apparent, therefore, that Walker's first expedition was the only one in which he achieved any results; and the most important factor in this expedition was his transaction with Morgan and Garrison. How indispensable the transportation company had been to the success of the filibusters is shown by the ease with which they were overthrown as soon as its support was withdrawn. The exact extent to which Walker was aided by the steamship monopoly cannot be accurately determined, but Vanderbilt himself admitted that the old company carried a thousand emigrants to Nicaragua in the space of two months.³ The books of the companies were said to show that seven thousand men were carried to Nicaragua from the Atlantic states and about half this number from California,⁴ but this is evidently a gross exaggeration. According to the records of Walker's adjutant-general, the total enlistment in the filibuster army up to February 24, 1857, was 2,288, exclusive of department employees, citizen volunteers, and native troops.⁵ This would indicate that the old and new companies together landed in Nicaragua about four thousand men, including the five hundred whom Spencer blockaded at Greytown. In addition, the filibuster government received large sums of money from the promoters of the new company, exactly how much it is not possible to determine. On this point Walker could have enlightened us, but he chose to remain silent.

As has been shown, shortly after Walker's arrival in Nicaragua

¹ Paulding's action became a matter of Congressional investigation. See MS., Archives, Navy Department, Home Squadron, II, 51 ff.; Senate Executive Document 13, 35 Congress, 1 Session; Senate Report 20, 35 Congress, 1 Session; House Executive Document 24, 35 Congress, 1 Session; House Report 74, 35 Congress, 1 Session; Senate Executive Document 63, 35 Congress, 1 Session; Senate Executive Document 10, 35 Congress, 2 Session; *Congressional Globe*, 35 Congress, 1 Session, *passim*; *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 466-469.

² *New York Tribune*, August 27, 29, September 1, October 4, 1860; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 17, 1860.

³ Vanderbilt to Marcy, March 17, 1856, House Executive Document 103, 34 Congress, 1 Session, 121. This statement is authenticated by Walker himself, who says that on March 1, 1856, there were in Nicaragua upwards of twelve hundred Americans capable of bearing arms. *War in Nicaragua*, 159.

⁴ *Dublin Review*, XLIII, 375.

⁵ Stout, *Nicaragua*, 209-210.

the American press proclaimed that he went there in the interests of the Transit Company. Later, when he repealed the laws against slavery, many journals of the United States were equally sure that such an act was the whole intent and purpose of his expedition. Yet Walker was neither the agent of capitalists nor the tool of slavery propagandists. Animated by personal ambition, he desired to form out of the weak Central American states a military empire with himself at its head. The incorporation of the new steamship company and the establishment of slavery were means whereby he sought to accomplish his purpose. By the first transaction Walker purposed to bring Americans to Nicaragua both as soldiers and as colonists; by the second, to obtain a class of labor fitted for a tropical country and at the same time to secure the aid and sympathy of the southern states. To regenerate the isthmus by introducing an American population that should own the land and cultivate it by slave labor; to erect on the basis of this new society a federation of the five Central American states, founded on military principles; to control the interoceanic canal and thus bind his government to the maritime nations of the world by the strong ties of commerce—such were some of the plans of Walker.² A fuller discussion of the filibuster's motives does not come within the scope of this paper.

After the removal of the filibusters by Commander Davis the transit remained closed, greatly to the detriment of American interests. On June 27, 1857, a corporation headed by Stebbins and White made a contract with Señor Antonio de Irisarri, chargé d'affaires for Nicaragua, which authorized them to reopen the route; but Vanderbilt, who opposed this company, at once sent his agents to Nicaragua to have the arrangement annulled.³ Costa Rica also greatly complicated the situation by retaining control of the San Juan river and all the steamers. The boundary between Costa Rica

¹ While Walker desired the help of the southern states, he did not propose to make Nicaragua one of their number. On August 12, 1856, he wrote as follows to Domingo Goicouria, whom he had chosen as his emissary to England: "With your versatility, and, if I may use the term, adaptability, I expect much to be done in England. You can do more than any American could possibly accomplish, because you can make the British Cabinet see that we are not engaged in any scheme for annexation; you can make them see that the only way to cut the expanding and expansive democracy of the North, is by a powerful and compact southern federation based on military principles." *Congressional Globe*, 35 Congress, 1 Session, 295.

² See Doubleday, *Reminiscences*, 164-167; Edward A. Pollard, *Black Diamonds* (New York, 1860), 111-115.

³ Lamar to Secretary Cass, February 26 and July 9, 1858, and March 4, 1859, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, III.

and Nicaragua had long been a matter of dispute, and the former state thought this a favorable moment to secure its claims. Nicaragua, however, though grateful for the aid of Costa Rica in expelling the filibusters, protested against this seizure of her territory, and war between the two republics seemed inevitable.

Thanks to Walker, the political situation in Central America suddenly cleared. His return to Nicaragua in November, 1857, put the two states into such a panic that by mutual consent they dropped their quarrel and made common cause against the filibuster. After Commodore Paulding's arrest of Walker at Punta Arenas there was harmony on the isthmus. By a treaty of limits Nicaragua made a large cession of territory to Costa Rica, in consideration of aid from that republic in case of further trouble with the filibusters, and in this way Costa Rica became a joint owner of the line of transit.¹ Secretary Cass had in the meantime entered into negotiations with Irisarri, and on November 16, 1857, a convention was signed providing an open and neutral transit through the state of Nicaragua, and empowering the United States to employ military force, if necessary, to protect persons and property conveyed over the route.² As two countries now claimed an interest in the transit, Vanderbilt sought to obtain from Costa Rica a grant similar to the one his rivals had secured from Nicaragua—a scheme that had its advantages, as Costa Rica still held the steamers. His agents therefore strove to prevent the ratification of the Cass-Irisarri treaty in the hope that as soon as it was rejected the American government would enter into negotiations with Costa Rica.³

While matters were in this condition Félix Belly, a Frenchman, arrived in Costa Rica from Paris as the agent of a French company desiring to construct a canal through the isthmus. Belly likewise undertook to prevent the ratification of the treaty, so as to secure exclusive control for his own company. He declared that if the treaty went into effect the transit route would again become a highway of filibusterism and the country would virtually be surrendered to the United States. The Frenchman and General Mora, the president of Costa Rica, proceeded to Nicaragua and at Rivas held a conference with President Martinez. Belly represented that

¹ Lamar to Cass, July 9, 1858, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, III.

² For full text of this treaty see Senate Executive Document 194, 47 Congress, 1 Session, 117-125.

³ Vanderbilt to General Cañas, August 15, 1857; Domingo Goicouria to General Jerez, November 20, 1857. Copies inclosed to Secretary Cass by Irisarri, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes, Central America, II, III.

the French government would undertake to protect the interests of Nicaragua and Costa Rica if the two republics would jointly grant his company the right to construct a canal. As a result, on May 1, 1858, the anniversary of Walker's surrender to Davis, Belly secured a contract signed by the presidents of both republics, and the American rights were sacrificed.¹ Martinez referred the Cass-Irisarri treaty to the Nicaraguan assembly, feeling confident that it would be rejected; but when, to his astonishment, it was eventually ratified, he refused to sign it or to allow it to be sent to Washington.² Mr. Lamar and later Mr. Dimitry, the American ministers, spent months in attempting to negotiate for an open transit, but their efforts were fruitless. Belly's canal scheme also came to naught. In the meantime isthmian travel was diverted to Panama, where a railway had been constructed, and the Nicaraguan route lost much of its importance. It may be said, therefore, that Walker's destruction of the Accessory Transit Company accomplished more than his own downfall: it closed the transit, and by turning the tide of American travel elsewhere perhaps changed the destiny of Nicaragua.

WILLIAM OSCAR SCROGGS.

¹ Félix Belly, *À travers l'Amérique Centrale* (Paris, 1867, 2 vols.), II, 105-173.

² Lamar to Cass, July 9, 1858, MS., Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, III.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Virginia Letters on the Scots Darien Colony, 1699.*

THE Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, known later as the "Darien Company", owed its origin to the desire of the Scots to enjoy economic advantages similar to those possessed by the other nations of Europe.¹ The occasion for its establishment in 1695 was the increased pressure exerted by the English East India Company on private merchants. Its national character was the result of a strenuous investigation of its affairs by the English Parliament. It became the darling of the Jacobites as soon as they saw it was opposed by the king. Failure to secure foreign capital forced its directors to stake everything on Paterson's Darien scheme, which was to occupy the southern part of the American isthmus and to maintain a short route to the far East. William III heard rumors of the design, but the plan was kept so secret that he did not feel warranted to order the expedition not to sail. Instead he secretly employed Captain Richard Long, a visionary Quaker, who had made several unsuccessful voyages to America in search of treasure, to ascertain the whereabouts of the Scots. They had reached Darien, November 3, 1698, and were located by Captain Long a few days later. He sailed at once for London, arrived there late in December,² furnished the king with exact information as to the whereabouts of the Scots, months before this news came through the regular channels, and enabled him to take the necessary steps to protect his interests.

No one in Scotland had the slightest inkling of what the king had done until midsummer, when there arrived from America copies of proclamations that had been issued by the governors of Jamaica and Barbados. These were followed before long by copies of similar documents issued by Lord Bellomont as governor of New York and New England.³ All were of the same general tenor. Governor

¹ John Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 8 vols., 1898-1901), VIII, chaps. lxxxiv and lxxxv.

² MS. accounts of Captain Long, Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1698, Dec., Vol. 58, No. 51, p. 278.

³ John Scott, *Darien Bibliography* (Edinburgh, privately printed, 1904), No. 57, note; *A Full and Exact Collection of All the Considerable Addresses . . . and other Publick Papers, Relating to the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies*, etc. (London, 1700), 77-83.

Beeston's was the first to be issued and bore date at Jamaica, April 8, 1699. It reads:

Whereas I have received Commands from his Majesty, by the Right Honourable *James Vernon* Esq; one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, signifying to me, that his Majesty is unacquainted with the Intensions and Designs of the *Scots* settling at *Darien*: And that it is contrary to the Peace entred into with his Majesty's Allies; and therefore has commanded me, that no Assistance be given them. These are therefore in his Majesty's Name, and by Command, strictly to command his Majesty's Subjects whatsoever, that they do not presume, on any pretence whatsoever, to hold any Correspondence with the said *Scots*, nor to give them any Assistance of Arms, Ammunition, Provisions, or any other Necessaries whatsoever, either by themselves or any other for them; or by any of their Vessels, or of the *English* Nation, as they will answer the Contempt of his Majesty's Command to the contrary, at their utmost peril.

Such evidence of the king's ill-will aroused great indignation in Scotland. This was raised to white heat a few weeks later when it was learned that the colonists had abandoned Darien. The disaster was at once charged to the issuance of the proclamation. As a matter of fact the colonists had been reduced by the deadly climate to such desperate straits that, on the first rumor which reached Darien of Beeston's proclamation, they stampeded, and deserted the fever-stricken swamps without ever waiting to see how the proclamation would affect them, or even if the rumor that it had been issued was true.¹ This fact did not prevent the company from declaring that the proclamation had not only ruined the first settlement but had so heavily handicapped the succeeding attempts that their entire enterprise was ruined.

Now the orders which gave rise to the proclamations were sent out so secretly that prolonged search in England and Scotland has hitherto failed to reveal any trace of them. Until the discovery by Professor A. C. McLaughlin of these two letters in the Virginia State Library, it has always been a question when the orders were sent out, to whom they were sent, and precisely what directions they contained.

The date of the first letter, January 2, 1698/9, shows that the orders were sent out almost immediately after Captain Long's return, that is, as soon as the king was sure the Scots had settled in Spanish territory. The fact that this letter was addressed to a governor who did not issue a proclamation is fairly clear evidence that all the colonial governors received similar letters, although only three of them thought it necessary to issue proclamations. The contents of the letter throw an interesting light on the diplomacy of the period;

¹*Darien Papers* (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1849), 191-193.

for there is no mention of Darien. Specific reference to the whereabouts of the new colony would only have been to tell the English colonists a piece of news of which the king desired that they should be ignorant as long as possible, lest the more daring spirits should profit by the knowledge to disobey the governors' orders more effectively. To mention Darien would have been to show the Spaniards that he had known of the Darien project in time to have stopped it, for otherwise he could not have received this special information. Furthermore it would have enraged the Jacobites in Scotland by demonstrating that he had sent out a spy in order to undermine their enterprise.

The second letter was sent out after it had become known all over Europe that the Scots were at Darien, and followed the receipt of a memorial against the Scots sent in by the Spanish ambassador in May, 1699.¹ It resulted in the issuance of only one proclamation, and that by Governor Gray of Barbados in September, 1699.² He was probably the only one of the colonial governors who had not heard of the desertion of Darien by the first expedition. The other governors knew that, although reinforcements had been sent out, the enterprise had been damaged beyond repair. HIRAM BINGHAM.

I. JAMES VERNON TO FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

Duplicate

WHITEHALL. 2^d. Janry 1698

Sir,

His Maj^{ty} having received Advice from the Island of Jamaica that severall Ships of force fitted out in Scotland were arrived at the Island of S^t Thomas, (with an Inten^{con} as they Declared) to settle themselves in some part of America their design being unknown to his Maj^{ty}, lest the same should derogate from the treaties his Maj^{ty} have entered into with the Crown of Spain or be otherwise prejudiciall to any of his Maj^{ty}'s Colonies in the west Indies; his Maj^{ty} Commands me to signify his Pleasure to you that you strictly enjoyn all his Maj^{ty}'s Subjects or others inhabiting within the districts of your Govern^t that they forbear holding any correspondence with, or giving any assistance to any of the said p^{ersons} while they are engaged in the fore^s^d enterprize, and that no provisions, arms, amunition, or other necessarys whatsoever be carryed to them from thence, or be pmitted to be carryed either in their own Vessells or other Ships or Vessells for their use; his Maj^{ty} requires that you do not fail herein; but take particular care that the above mentioned direc^{cons} be fully observed, and that you send hither an account of your proceedings in the execu^{con} of these his Commands.

I am Sir

Your most humble Servant

JA: VERNON

¹ *A Full and Exact Collection*, 40.

² *Ibid.*, 83-84.

II. JAMES VERNON TO FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

WHITEHALL 18th June 1699

Sir

I signified to You his Maj^{ty}s Pleasure in January last concerning the scots who had undertaken an Expedition to the West Indies, the place not being then known in which they designed to settle and his Maj^{ty} being since informed that they have taken possession of the Bay of Caerat¹ [or Carrat] near the Bay of Darien between Cartagena and Porto Bello and are fortifying themselves there, seeming resolved to maintain it by force against the Spaniards: His Maj^{ty} Considering this attempt as a violaⁿ of the Treaty's subsisting between his Maj^{ty} and the Crown of Spain, Com^{ds} me to acquaint You that he expects his former orders should be strictly observed, a Duplicate whereof is therefore inclosed. I suppose upon the receipt of the first Letter You have given all necessary Directions that no Correspondence should be kept with the said Scotch Colony and that no provisions, ammuniti^on, or other assistance should be furnisht them, or be suffered to be conveyed to them from any part of your Government, His Maj^{ty} would have the same care continued, so as the said orders may in all particulars be fully obeyed and put in execution.

I am Sir

Your most humble Servant

JA: VERNON

To Francis Nicholson Esq^r His Maj^{ty}s Lieutenant and Governour Generall of Virginia in America

2. *A Letter of Marshall to Jefferson, 1783.*

IN this centennial period of the Lewis and Clark exploration, much interest has been displayed in one of the letters in the Draper Manuscript Collection in the Wisconsin Historical Library, a note from Thomas Jefferson, dated Annapolis, December 4, 1783, to General George Rogers Clark, suggesting to the latter an exploration toward the Pacific Ocean, similar in character to that which Jefferson twenty years later succeeded in inducing Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (younger brother of George) to undertake. This letter has already appeared in the columns of the REVIEW (III, 673), and has several times recently been elsewhere published in facsimile. A short time ago the Wisconsin Historical Library was presented by Professor R. E. N. Dodge, of the University of Wisconsin, with an autograph letter of one of his forebears, Chief Justice John Marshall, which throws additional light on this famous letter of Jefferson to George Rogers Clark. The Marshall letter was written at Williamsburg, Va., and addressed to Thomas Jefferson. Therein

¹ Modern Carreto. Governor Gray in his proclamation, September 5, 1699, says "the Island of Cuirat near Darien". *A Full and Exact Collection*, 84.

Marshall, who was at the time a member of the state executive council, acknowledges the receipt of a letter written by Jefferson on the fifth instant, inclosing "letters to Gen^l Clarke and M^r Banks", which "I yesterday deliver'd." General Clark was at that time in Williamsburg, pushing his claims for reimbursement for expenses incurred in his celebrated campaign against Vincennes. The letter of Marshall to Jefferson, heretofore unpublished, is not only noteworthy because of its connection with the latter's early project of an exploration through the Spanish domain beyond the Mississippi, but is interesting in itself, because of characteristic allusions to Patrick Henry and other notable contemporaries. It is given in full below.

R. G. THWAITES.

JOHN MARSHALL TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

[WILLIAMSBURG, VA.,] Dec^r 12th 1783

Dear Sir

The letters to Gen^l Clarke and M^r Banks enclosed in yours of the 5th inst. I yesterday deliver'd. Should a letter to Maj^r Crittenden arrive by the next post I can give it a certain and immediate conveyance. I gave you in my last some account of the proceedings of the Assembly. The Commutable bill has at length pass'd and with it a suspension of the collection of taxes till the first of January next. I told you the principle speakers for and against the measure. Col^o R. H. Lee has not attended this Session. This is not all. His Services in the Assembly are lost for ever. 'Tis conjectur'd that Col^o Harry Lee of the Legionary corps, will take his place. You know the character of that Gentleman better than I do and can best determine whether the public will be injur'd by the change. The idea of rendering Members of Congress eligible to the Gen^l Assembly has not been taken up. Indeed the attention of the house since the passage of the Commutable bill has been so fix'd on the Citizen bill that they have scarcely thought on any other subject. Since the rejection of the bill introduc'd by Taylor, Col^o Nicholas (a politician not fam'd for hitting a medium) introduced one admitting into this Country every species of Men except Natives who had borne arms against the state. When the house went into Committee on this bill M^r Jones introduc'd by way of amendment, one totally new and totally opposite to that which was the subject of deliberation. He spoke with his usual sound sense and solid reason. M^r Henry oppos'd him. The Speaker replied with some degree of acrimony and Henry retorted with a good deal of tartness but with much temper; 'tis his peculiar excellence when he altercates to appear to be drawn unwillingly into the contest and to throw in the eyes of others the whole blame on his adversary. His influence is immense. The house rose for the day without coming to any determination and the bill is yet in suspense. The principle point on which they split is the exclusion of the Statute Staple Men. I really am uncertain what will be the determination on this subject.

The Officers will soon begin to survey their lands on the Cumberland. Has Crittenden your Military warrant? The report from Congress with respect to the cession has not yet reach'd us, of course the assembly can have determined nothing about it. My Father set out for the western Country about the 5th of Nov^r. I have not heard a syllable from Crittenden since his departure.

As ever I am with the greatest esteem yours

J. MARSHALL

Banks has applied to me for a considerable sum, on your account but I presume Your letter to him was on that subject. I parry every applicant as well as possible yours J. M.

3. *Charles Pinckney's Reply to Jay, August 16, 1786, regarding a Treaty with Spain.*

THE following speech is found as a printed broadside in the Madison Papers, now in the Library of Congress. The print is contemporary with the incident to which it applied, and the form is the same as the issues of the Continental Congress. It is not probable, however, that Congress had any part in the printing, and it must have appeared as a private undertaking of Pinckney, whose interest in the question of the Mississippi was strong. I have never seen another copy of the speech, nor have I seen any mention of it in contemporary discussions. It places the commercial arguments in telling form, and is an important contribution to the history of an incident in Jay's career which his descendants have sought to bury in forgetfulness. The southern states never forgot the proposition to close the Mississippi; nor would Jay have proposed it if he had not considered a treaty of commerce with Spain of greater importance than the continued wrangling for a right which he knew, by mortifying experiences, Spain would never concede. Better a profitable trade than further negotiations that had thus far come to naught, and that gave little promise of an issue other than failure. Pinckney expresses the Southern point of view, and explains it upon a higher plane than so bitter an opponent of Jay as Monroe, Virginia's spokesman on the same question, was able to adopt.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Mr. Charles Pinckney's Speech, in Answer to Mr. Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the Question of a Treaty with Spain, delivered in Congress, August 16, 1786.

Mr. President,

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs has reported, that, in consequence of the commission and instructions he had received from Congress for the purpose of negotiating with Mr. Gardoqui, he has had several conferences with him upon this subject.

That he had received an offer from Mr. Gardoqui to enter into a commercial treaty upon certain principles, but that he insisted as a part of the treaty, that Spain and the United States should fix the boundaries of their respective territories; and that the latter should relinquish all claim to the right of navigating the river Mississippi.

The Secretary adds, as his opinion, that a treaty may be formed with Spain, upon principles which he then stated, upon the United States forbearing to assert their right to navigate the river for twenty-five or thirty years; and used some arguments to prove the policy of our acceding to this arrangement with her.

In investigating this subject, it is proper to follow the Secretary, and examine

1st. The reasons he has stated, and which ought, in his opinion, to induce us, at this time, to wish the formation of a commercial treaty with Spain.

2dly. The offers which Spain has made, and the terms upon which a treaty may be concluded with her; the benefits to be derived from it, and the manner in which they will operate upon the different parts of the union.

3dly. The price that is to be paid for the treaty, and the consequences that will probably attend the United States stipulating to suspend the assertion of the right for a given term. And

4thly. The policy of Congress's concluding a treaty at all at this time.

I will agree that an equal commercial treaty would be of more advantage to this country, with Spain, than with any other in Europe, except Portugal; but I am not convinced that the relative situation of Spain and the United States is such as ought to render us, at this time, particularly anxious to conclude a treaty upon the principles proposed.

It is thought, if a difference should exist between us, that France will probably be the friend of Spain; as her close connection by compact, and the benefits she derives from her alliance with Spain, are greater than any she can expect from America.—If I understand the politics of France, or if we are to depend upon our communications from thence, we are to suppose that her present system, is a system of perfect peace. She is laboring to repair the expences of the late war, to arrange her finances, and by every possible exertion to augment her marine. She is generally esteemed, what politicians stile, “the ruling power,” at present in Europe; and it is more to her interest, and more gratifying to her ambition, to maintain this situation, than by improperly interfering in matters comparatively unimportant, to risque a premature contest with the rival power. I call that a rival power, which not being equal to her upon the whole, still comes nearer this equality than any other—and this is England. France may mediate, but as we are to presume she will always be governed by her interest, she will never risque a contest if she can avoid it, that must involve her with Great-Britain and this country, merely to support Spain in the impolitic demand of shutting the Mississippi.

Though the animosities of Great-Britain are still warm, yet there is sufficient wisdom in her councils to make them yield to her interest. Though she loves us not, she hates France and Spain, and would avail herself of any opportunity, even upon less than equal terms, to strike a blow. With them she never can be in any other than a rival situa-

tion; with us, when the present differences shall have terminated, it will ever be her interest to be closely connected. Our language, governments, religion and policy, point to this, as an alliance that will hereafter be formed, as most likely to to [*sic*] be permanent and productive of good consequences. In a war with France and Spain, the contiguity of the United States, and the convenience of their ports and supplies, would render the aid of this country peculiarly important in any enterprise against their islands.

We also know, if any respect is to be paid to the intelligence and communications of Mr. Adams, your Minister at the Court of London, that the cabinet of Great-Britain are at this time turning a serious eye to South America. The divesting, he says, Spain of that country, and opening to it a free trade, is considered by them as of the first importance, and if any event should take place in which even a distant hope of accomplishing this object should offer, there can be no doubt of her availing herself of it.

So far therefore from fearing the additional weight of Great-Britain, we are to presume if she suffers her interest and her wishes to prevail, that she will importantly interfere in our favour.

The connections of Spain and her influence in Portugal, even if they could ever be of much service, which is very doubtful, can be of no consequence at present, as our latest advices from thence warrant a belief that a treaty between Portugal and the United States has long since been concluded.

It does not appear that any beneficial effects are to be expected from her influence in our favour with the States of Barbary: there is but one mode of obtaining a pacification with them; the price of peace must be paid. You are informed by Mr. Jefferson, that in a late conversation he had with the Count Vergennes upon the subject of a treaty with the Porte, and the aid of his influence to procure a peace with them, the Count informed him, that even in that case, and notwithstanding they owe the Porte a distant tribute, his interference would not procure you a peace a moment sooner, nor a shilling cheaper; in short, that a pacification would be as difficult, and their terms as extravagant as at present: If therefore the influence of Constantinople would be unsuccessful, how is it to be expected that the friendship of Spain would be useful?

Of no more weight is another opinion, which supposes the influence of Spain will promote our interests with the Italian States—true it is that the king of Naples is the son of the king of Spain, but until a peace is made with the States of Barbary, the friendship of the king of Spain will be but of little protection to your commerce in the Mediterranean.—Effect this, and the Italian States will all be ready to receive you upon the same liberal terms without treaty, which one has already offered.

Upon investigating the situation of Spain, it will be found she has strong reasons to be particularly anxious to treat with you at this time.

Independent of the knowledge she must have of the intentions of Great-Britain, she views with a jealous eye the emancipation of these States, and dreads their neighbourhood to her rich and extensive, tho' feeble colonies of South-America. She is desirous to prevent an intimacy between them, well knowing the danger of such an intercourse.

—Hence we find she holds the deserts of Florida as a barrier, and wishes to deprive our citizens of the use of the Mississippi, hoping by these means to postpone an event which she dreads, and fears is at no considerable distance. Being acquainted with your situation, the deranged state of your finances, and the inefficacy of your government, she thinks that this is the time to push her demands, and supposes your distress will force you into a compliance:—but I still trust our inconveniencies when compared to her's, are but temporary. A little firmness and perseverance on the part of Congress, and of recollection on the part of the States, may yet subdue all our difficulties; whereas the Spanish Monarchy carries in its bosom the seeds of its dissolution. Our situation, though unpleasant, is not yet sufficiently desperate to force us into measures derogatory to our national honor. Spain has more to risque, and more to dread from a rupture than we can fear, and though it is undoubtedly her interest to treat at present, it can be only ours on very advantageous terms.

As to the second point, Spain consents to treat with us upon what she terms principles of perfect reciprocity; importation to be freely made in each other's vessels; the duties to be paid by each in the ports of the other, the same as those paid by the natives; masts and spars to be purchased of the United States, for the use of the navy of Spain, and paid in specie, provided they are as good and as cheap as those procured from the Baltic; permission to go to the Canaries, and Mr. Gardoqui has no personal objection that we should have liberty to go to the Philippines, his instructions however do not reach this; her ports in the West-Indies and in South America to be shut, and the article of tobacco to be prohibited in her European ports.

In return we are to admit her subjects freely into all the ports we have, without any exception of articles, upon the footing of natives, and to stipulate the forbearance of our right to navigate the Mississippi for a given term.

In examining this point it must be observed, though the treaty proposes a perfect reciprocity, this reciprocity will be the more or less advantageous, as the commerce of the respective powers is the more or less free in their own ports.

The United States are a free, and Spain is an absolute, government; it is the policy of the former to promote and encourage their commerce, hence their duties are but trifling and easily paid; the impositions and fetters of the latter have almost ruined it, and though our merchants are to be on the footing of natives, yet it is beyond a doubt they will pay four, and in some instances six times as much as their merchants will in our ports; so that the reciprocity here mentioned does not, or cannot exist—the Spanish productions will, in most instances, be imported here at two, and two and a half, and if the impost should operate, at five per cent. The American into their ports in the one case at four times, and in the other at double the sum.

At present American produce is generally sold in the Spanish ports on board the vessel; the purchaser pays the custom and duties, making the necessary deductions, so that though they are large and reduce the value of the commodity, they never appear on the account sales rendered by the consignee.

The duty on eatables, by which I suppose is meant all kind of provision, of grain, or otherwise, is called million, and calculated generally

at ten per cent. at Cadiz, but differs materially in the several towns and provinces. The duty on merchandize imported, may be generally estimated at 25 per cent.

Ricard, in his *Traite du Commerce*, takes notice of an extra duty paid on exportation on foreign bottoms from Cadiz, of 150 reals vellon per pipe on wine, equal to 34s. but the merchants there in making out their invoices charge the wine and brandy *on board*, at certain prices, including all duties and charges, which leave us unacquainted with the exact sum.

The duties on vessels going to South America are extremely high, not less than 25 per cent. ever, and in many cases much higher.

The articles with which Spain is now supplied from this country, she receives upon terms equally beneficial with those proposed by the treaty, and so advantageous is this trade to her, that there cannot be the most distant danger of her ever shutting her ports against us; she does not produce them, and they are necessary and essential to her, it is therefore her policy to open her ports to all that do; this creates a competition, and she is always sure of being well and cheaply supplied. The object of the treaty is therefore unimportant, because it is only to secure that partial intercourse with Spain which now exists, and which it will always be her interest to promote.

The project goes farther and proposes to purchase your masts and spars, provided they are as good and as cheap as she can procure them from the Baltic. This is a stipulation of no consequence. If you have masts and spars of equal size and fitness with those imported from the Baltic, you will always find purchasers.—Spain is a maritime power, she has no territories producing timber of this kind, but masts and spars are and must be always wanted for her navy. Will it not therefore be her interest to encourage as many to bring them to her ports as she can? most clearly it will.

I am told by merchants of repute, and connected in the Spanish trade, that the common timber of this country cannot but rarely, if ever, be exported as good and as cheap as that from the Baltic.—In proof of this, they have appealed to all the shipments that have been made since the war; scarcely one of which has done more than pay the mere freight, sinking the original cost of the timber.

Spain generally produces as much wheat as her inhabitants consume, except in those years when their crops are lost by drought, which is once in three or four. The wheat to supply this, and their islands, and American colonies, they generally procure from Sicily and Poland, and purchase the American wheat when it is as good and as cheap; but they by no means depend upon it. Their European markets however, are always open to it, and to every other kind of provision; nor while they consult their interest will they prohibit it. So that it appears, as far as your articles are useful and necessary, and it is their interest, so far will they open their ports to you; but in the lucrative and truly important trade of their islands and other dominions, or wherever they are afraid of a rivalry, there you are to be prevented.

It is said however, that Mr. Gardoqui is not personally averse to our going to the Philippines, and that from thence in all probability some intercourse will be established with Acapulco. If we are to believe Mr. Gardoqui, when he says it is an invariable maxim of Spanish politics, to exclude all mankind from trading with their colonies and

islands, it appears to me that we are rather to consider this as a ministerial finesse, than amounting to any thing like a certainty that permission will be obtained;—but suppose it is:—One rich ship sails every year from Acapulco to one of the Philippine islands, and returns laden with the commodities of the East-Indies. It is not to be supposed it will be very easy to elude the Spaniards, whose duty it will be to prevent your interfering with the South-American trade. But grant for a moment they connive at it, what great advantages are to be expected from your citizens in this remote and expensive voyage, being suffered to participate in the cargo of a single ship? An individual or two may make their fortunes, but surely no solid advantages are to be derived to the union from this distant and precarious commerce. In short, Sir, as I have observed, this appears to me no more than a ministerial finesse, to which his instructions do not, nor ever will reach.

But in order to bring the objects of the proposed treaty more clearly before the view of the house, permit me to examine them, as they may affect the different states in their operation.

The New-England states (in which can be scarcely included New-Hampshire and Connecticut, their European commerce being inconsiderable, and Rhode-Island not extensive) enjoy at present a beneficial trade with Spain, in the export of their fish, lumber, and other articles, for which they receive valuable returns. Their peltry trade is of no consequence, nor except in the articles mentioned have they any considerable export that will suit the Spanish European markets. The Spaniards have no fisheries of their own;—they consume a great quantity of fish, and are always in want of timber; they will therefore find it their policy to keep their ports open to all the nations that will bring them. Spain does not offer to give us exclusive privileges or preferences, but leaves herself at liberty to form treaties with whom she pleases. The French, in virtue of the family compact, are entitled to the privileges of the most favored nation; and if we examine the treaties of commerce that have formerly existed between Great-Britain and Spain, particularly that of 1667, which is the ground work of all their future treaties, and those of 1713 and 1715, we shall find these nations have been in the habits of a commercial intercourse for a great number of years.—The policy of Europe at present, seems to be peace and commerce. The English and French are pushing their fisheries with astonishing exertions, and endeavouring to depress ours—while therefore Spain in her treaty proposes no advantages that we do not now enjoy, and which it can never be her interest to curtail, and while she leaves herself open to trade with other nations who may attempt to rival them; I cannot see any particular benefit that will result even to the New-England States, under the present project.

New-York and Pennsylvania have the power of exporting wheat and staves, and some other articles; their wheat is valuable in proportion to the scarcity, and failure of crops, and depends upon the contingencies I have already stated—under the treaty nothing more is proposed to them. New-Jersey not being an importing State, cannot be materially interested. Maryland and Virginia may export as they do at present, some wheat and lumber; their great staple tobacco is expressly prohibited, and to remain under its present regulations, so that while the latter must be more injured than any State in the union, by the cession, she will be the least benefitted under the treaty.

The tobacco of North and South-Carolina, and Georgia, is in the same situation, nor will the sale of their other productions be promoted. Indigo, one of their staple commodities, is the product of the Spanish American Islands and Colonies in much greater quantities than they can consume, and of a superior quality to that made in the Southern States, so that there does not remain a probability of this ever becoming an article of commerce.

Rice is always in such demand in Europe, that it wants not the aid of a treaty, nor if it did, would those States which produce it, wish an advantage at the expence of the rights and possessions of any part of the Confederacy.

I trust that upon a candid and disinterested view of the proposed arrangement—the partial, not to say ungenerous, manner in which it is offered, and the few advantages to be derived from its operation, which we do not at present enjoy, that Congress will be induced to suppose it is not an offer of that liberal and extensive kind, which promises a lasting or mutually beneficial intercourse, nor does it hold out such privileges as we might have expected from a power who wishes to tempt us to even the temporary surrender of an important national right. In my judgment she proposes nothing more than she will always be willing to grant you without a treaty, and nothing which can be termed an equivalent for the forbearance she demands.

The true mode to determine this, is to examine the nature and consequences of the demand she makes, on our compliance with which alone a treaty may be formed with her.

It is to forbear the assertion of the right of the United States to navigate the river Mississippi, for the terms of 25 or 30 years. It is said the treaty will not be concluded without this stipulation—that the navigation is unimportant, and that a forbearance will be no sacrifice, as Spain excludes us by force, and will continue to do so—that it would be disgraceful to continue the claim without asserting it—that war is inexpedient, and that the best way would be to enter into a treaty with them, and consent to suspend the claim for a certain time.

The right of the United States to navigate the Mississippi has been so often asserted, and so fully stated by Congress, that it is unnecessary to say any thing upon this subject, particularly as the Secretary in his Report appears to be in sentiment with Congress. But if the treaty proposed was of the most advantageous nature in other respects, while it insisted upon the forbearance, I should think the impolicy of consenting to it, must be obvious for the following reasons:

Because the sale and disposal of the lands ceded in the western territory, has ever been considered by Congress as a sufficient fund, under proper management, for the discharge of the domestic debt. Large sums of efficient money have already been expended in quieting the Indians—purchasing their rights of soil, and in sending out persons to survey it. The offers which are to be made the purchasers, and already established by your resolutions, are the protection and support of the Union—the establishment of republican governments, and the equal enjoyment of all the privileges of citizens of the United States. To those in the least acquainted with that country, it is known that the value of their lands must altogether depend upon the right to navigate the Mississippi. This is the great out-let with which, and with the rivers running into it, nature washes their shores,—points to them the

mode of exporting their productions, and of establishing a commercial intercourse with the rest of the world. Inform them you have consented to relinquish it even for a time, you check, perhaps destroy, the spirit of emigration, and prevent the accomplishment of the object proposed by the sale. But, it is said, the Spaniards already oppose us in the navigation, and that this will as effectually prevent emigration, as our consenting to suspend it. To this it may be shortly replied, that while the purchasers know that the United States claim and insist upon the right, and are negotiating for it, that if the Spaniards refuse to admit us to a participation, the occlusion will be founded in injury, must be supported by force, and will be resisted whenever circumstances shall authorise; a reliance on the support and protection of their parent state, will operate as a spur to emigration.

To me it appears most extraordinary that a doctrine should be attempted to prove, that because we have not at present a government sufficiently energetic to assert a national right, it would be more honorable to relinquish it.

The British government, in violation of the late treaty, hold by force and garrison posts within the territory of the United States. These posts give them the entire command of the valuable fur trade. If they were in our possession, as they ought to be, this important commerce would pursue its usual route, and become an article of considerable export to these states: but we are unable to recover them by force at present, war being inexpedient, and are obliged to submit to the injury and disgrace of their being forcibly withheld. We are now attempting to negotiate with Britain:—suppose she was to offer certain commercial privileges, advantageous to the whole, but operating more particularly in favor of those exports which suit her market, and to which she more anxiously applies her attention than to any other part of your commerce; for to Britain, tobacco and rice are at least as important, as fish and timber to Spain. Suppose I say she was to offer to form a treaty, granting these privileges in lieu of your stipulating that she should hold these posts, and enjoy the fur trade for a given number of years, I ask, whether Congress would conceive themselves warranted in assenting to it, or think the honor of the nation was not wounded by the attempt? Would gentlemen representing the states, particularly interested, suppose themselves at liberty to consent to it without consulting their constituents? I should apprehend I not—and yet the posts are held in defiance of the authority and remonstrances of this country. The claim to the Mississippi has been as strongly insisted upon as the claim to the posts, and the cases appear to me so similar, that I should think the same policy that would dictate the yielding the one, might with great propriety consent to the surrender of the other.

Another object more important than the sale and disposal of the Western territory, presents itself in objection to the suspension of the right.

Nature has so placed this country, that they must either be the future friends or enemies of the Atlantic states, and this will altogether depend upon the policy they shall observe towards them.

If they assist them in rearing their infant governments to maturity, and by extending the gentle influence of their laws gradually, cement their union with us upon equal principles, it is fair to suppose they may be an acquisition, rather than a disadvantage.

In their first settlement, exports cannot be much attended to, but if these states increase in the same proportion the United States did, and we are to presume they will exceed them, in the course of a few years, they will turn their views to the best mode of exporting and disposing of their productions. The large navigable rivers which all terminate in the Mississippi, point to them, as has been mentioned, this mode of export;—should the right remain uncaded by Congress, the consideration of the future force of the inhabitants, and a number of eventual circumstances in our favor, which it is impossible at present to foresee, but which are probable, may induce, perhaps compel, Spain to yield us a share in the navigation.

But should it be surrendered, you at once deprive the citizens of the Atlantic states from navigating it, or from having any intercourse with the settlements on its banks, and within your territory. You immediately destroy all connection between them and the inhabitants of the western country: for, after you have rendered them thus dependant on Spain, by using the first opportunity in your power to sacrifice their interests to those of the Atlantic States, can they be blamed for immediately throwing themselves into her arms for that protection and support which you have denied them—for the enjoyment of that right which you have placed it out of your power to grant. [?] Is it not to be clearly seen by those who will see, that the policy of Spain, in thus inducing us to consent to a surrender of the navigation for a time, is, that by having a clear and unincumbered right, she may use it for the purpose of separating the interests of the inhabitants of the western country entirely from us, and making it subservient to her own purposes?—Will it not produce this? It will.—Will it not give her influence the entire command of the numerous and extensive Indian tribes within this country? It will certainly have this effect. When once this right is ceded, no longer can the United States be viewed as the friend or parent of the new States, nor ought they to be considered in any other light, than in that of their oppressors.

There is one consideration, and of some consequence, which ought to be recollected; that is, the impropriety of the United States ever acting under the influence of that kind of policy which is calculated to acquire benefits for one part of the confederacy at the expence of the other.

It is confessed our government is so feeble and unoperative, that unless a new portion of strength is infused, it must in all probability soon dissolve. Congress have it in contemplation to apply to the States on this subject. The concurrence of the whole will be necessary to effect it. Is it to be supposed, that if it is discovered a treaty is formed upon principles calculated to promote the interests of one part of the union at the expence of the other, that the part conceiving itself injured will ever consent to invest additional powers? Will they not urge, and with great reason, the impropriety of vesting that body with farther powers, which has so recently abused those they already possess? I have no doubt they will.

If therefore the entering into this treaty, which really does not in my opinion, hold out any important benefits, and if any, only to a part of the union, should interfere and prevent the States from assenting to invest Congress with proper powers, throwing justice and an equal attention to all the members of the confederacy out of view, ought not

policy to induce us to make the lesser yield to the more important consideration?—If we are prudent it ought.

It may be said it is extremely oppressive, that the Northern and Eastern States should be deprived of a treaty which they conceive an advantageous one, merely to gratify the Southern in adhering to a claim to navigation, unimportant if in our possession, which we have not power to assert, and must therefore submit to be deprived of—but it should be remembered that the cession is the price of the treaty;—if you had not this right to grant, why should Spain treat with you? Will she derive any other benefits from the treaty? No. All she can expect, except the exclusive navigation, she now enjoys, unfettered by stipulations—it would therefore be extremely unwise and impolitic in her unnecessarily to restrict herself. I have stated the reasons which render her particularly anxious to treat with you, and those who are to pay the price, have at least a right to an opinion upon the subject: Besides, the delegates of the different States stand here upon different grounds. The delegates of some of the States, whose territories, or whose claims to territory extend to the Mississippi, or to the waters leading into it, and who consider these states as deriving a claim under the general title of the United States, to navigate the river, view this as an important national right, secured by treaty, upon which they doubt their power to decide without a reference to their constituents; for if, in time of war, under the exclusive rights of Congress, and justifiable only by the law of necessity, their right to divest their constituents of a national claim would be doubtful; how much more so is it in time of profound peace, and when this necessity cannot justify it?

Unless Spain would consent to treat with us upon terms which did not respect the Mississippi, and which afforded us many more advantages than those proposed, I should very much doubt the policy of treating with her at all at this time.

It does not appear to me honorable or politic, that the United States should at present form any treaties of commerce, except upon such principles as would insure to us very considerable benefits, and such as would execute themselves.

It is not honorable, because, though Congress have nominally a right to enter into treaties, they do not possess the power of taking such measures as will ensure an attention to them. The right retained to the States under the confederation; will create a dependence of Congress upon their conduct: this will be as different in the several States as their views and policy, they will each interfere with the other in their regulations, and be incapable of carrying the stipulations into effect. Sensible of this defect, Congress have already applied to the States for additional powers. I would rather wait the issue of this application, which may place us more upon an equality with Spain, than treat under our present disadvantages. I have always been of opinion, that the true policy of the United States consisted in the endeavouring to obtain from their constituents powers sufficient to enable them to establish such regulations as were suited to our situation, and would render our commerce more lucrative to our own citizens than to any others. All our policy should consist in the establishment of these regulations—in the determination never to derogate from them in favour of foreigners; and, except in very particular cases, in not attempting to form commercial treaties, until we were in a situation to

demand and expect privileges without purchasing them even with equivalents. This is the situation of Spain, as it respects you; and, therefore, it is wise in her to push her negotiations, as she expects an important cession, without purchasing it with an equivalent; but I trust we shall have sufficient prudence not to precipitate ourselves into a measure which we may hereafter repent, without first very maturely considering it.

Upon the whole, as the present treaty proposes no real advantage that we do not at present enjoy, and it will always be the interest and policy of Spain to allow; as our situation by no means presses us to the formation of new connections; and as the suspension demanded, may involve us in uneasinesses with each other at a time when harmony is so essential to our true interests—as it may be the means of souring the states, and indispose them to grant us those additional powers of government, without which we cannot exist as a nation, and without which all the treaties you may form must be ineffectual; let me hope that upon this occasion the general welfare of the United States will be suffered to prevail, and that the house will on no account consent to alter Mr. Jay's instructions, or permit him to treat upon any other terms than those he has already proposed.

4. *English Peace Proposals before the Preliminaries of Leoben, April, 1797.*

IN an article in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for January, 1904 (V, 241-264, "Étude critique sur 'Bonaparte et le Directoire' par M. Albert Sorel"), Messrs. Raymond Guyot and Pierre Muret note the existence in the British archives of a document clearly controverting the assertion of most French historians, and notably that of Sorel, that Pitt and his colleagues were never willing to acquiesce in a peace involving the retention by France of the Austrian Netherlands (*ibid.*, 258). This document has never been published. Its importance consists in the fact that it contains both a résumé of proposals made by Lord Malmesbury to France in 1796, at Paris, and an outline of the terms upon which England was ready to make peace in the spring of 1797. In form it is an instruction, dated April 11, 1797, from Lord Grenville to Sir Morton Eden, the English ambassador at Vienna, conveyed by the hand of George Hammond, an under-secretary of foreign affairs, who was to act with Morton Eden in the proposed negotiation, and to whom the instruction equally applied. The instruction was drawn up at a time when the victories of Napoleon in Italy and the Tyrol made it evident that Austria must soon make peace; but before Hammond could reach Vienna the preliminaries of Leoben had already been signed between France and Austria, and Hammond and Morton Eden did not reveal the concessions England was prepared to make. Thus the document is not to be found in the archives of continental

European governments, and no trace of it has yet been noted in the diplomatic correspondence of the period. It has also an added interest from the fact that up to the present time no document has come to light embodying the instructions given by Pitt to Malmesbury some three months later when the latter went to Lille on the peace negotiation of 1797. On this occasion Pitt's "last and final" instructions to Malmesbury were verbal, and all that is positively known of the extent to which Pitt would have gone in his desire for peace is that, on the testimony of several witnesses, he was ready to concede much more than in the month of April. Thus the instruction of April 11, 1797, throws light on the Lille negotiation of that year, and is at least complete proof of Pitt's willingness to yield the Netherlands to France. The transcript here printed was made in 1901 by B. F. Stevens and Brown, a chance reference to the existence of the document having been found by me in the *Dropmore Manuscripts*. The original is in the Foreign Office, Austria, vol. 49.

E. D. ADAMS.

LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR MORTON EDEN.

DOWNING STREET April 11 1797

Most Secret

N^o 24.

Sir Morton Eden.

Sir,

You will have seen by my Letter N^o 23 of this date the line of conduct which it is judged most advisable to pursue with a view to opening Negotiations for Peace by the intervention of the Emperor of Russia, to be employed either separately or in conjunction with the proffered good offices of the Court of Berlin. It is, however, impossible after considering your last Dispatches and those from Colonel Graham not to feel that the result of the operations of the Enemy in the Tyrolese and in Carinthia may have been such as to lead to the unavoidable necessity of bringing this business to an earlier issue, than would be possible, if it were to take the course of a reference to Russia.

It is with this view that His Majesty has been pleased to approve of M^r Hammond's being made the Bearer of these Dispatches in order that he may assist you with his thorough knowledge of the situation of public affairs here, and of the views of the King's government respecting terms of Peace, in the very arduous and difficult crisis, in which you will in that case have found yourself.

The King confidently relies on the assurances He has received from Vienna that no separate Negotiation will have been entered into with the Enemy in the interval, and at the very time that this Government has been employed in making every possible exertion to find the means of still affording pecuniary assistance to Austria. But if at the period of M^r Hammond's arrival the urgency of affairs should be such as that in the opinion of the Court of Vienna the delay of a reference to Russia, agreeably to the proposal contained in my other Dispatch, would

incur too great a risk of the allies seeing their situation rendered materially worse in the interval, the following are the best lines of conduct which seem to be open for them to pursue: And the King is pleased to give you authority jointly with M^r Hammond to accede in his name to them according to the wishes of the Austrian Government, and in the manner hereinafter stated.

1. The first measure might be the endeavouring to conclude a general armistice avowedly for the purpose of allowing time for the intervention of the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin, (as the French would in such a case certainly require the adjunction of the latter) extending such armistice to all the Belligerent Powers, and stipulating respecting the Naval War that proper time should be allowed for notices in the distant parts of the world, and that no change should be made in the stations of the respective naval forces after the receipt of such notices, and until the expiration of the Armistice.

To an agreement for this purpose His Majesty is pleased to give you full authority to accede in His name, and in whatever form may be settled by concert between you and the Austrian Minister. The arrangement of the details of the Naval Armistice would require some further discussion between this Country and the Powers with whom we are at war, but this might properly be reserved as the subject of direct communication, if the general principle were established. The adoption of this measure, if practicable, would be much the most advantageous way of obviating the difficulty, which might arise from a pressure of circumstances too urgent to admit otherwise of waiting the result of a reference to Russia; because the intervention of the Emperor of Russia would probably be highly beneficial to his Allies in the course of the Negotiation, and because there would be much better ground of security that the conditions of a Peace so concluded would be adhered to by France, than if the whole transaction were to be carried on and concluded by the Belligerent Powers only. But altho' the King would for these reasons prefer that mode of conducting the business, His Majesty is sensible that the necessity may be such as to require indispensably that, without waiting for the effect of any such intervention from any quarter, immediate measures of direct Negotiation with the French should be resorted to. And His Majesty has been pleased in order to avoid unnecessary delay which might eventually be of the utmost prejudice to the common interests, [to] refer the decision as to the necessity to the judgment of the Austrian government which can alone pronounce on the exigency of it's own situation, and on the effect of such Events as shall have taken place between the date of the last letters received from you and the arrival of M^r Hammond.

If the resolution shall be taken by the Court of Vienna either to wait for the answer from Petersburg before any step is taken towards Negotiation, (beyond such general declarations as may be thought proper in order to indicate the continued wish of the Allies for Peace on suitable terms,) or if it should be determined to propose an Armistice, as mentioned above, in order to allow time for obtaining the intervention of the Emperor of Russia, (either singly or jointly with Prussia), you will be under no necessity of entering into any more specific discussion of terms than that to which the contents of my Dispatch N^o 23 will naturally lead.

If on the contrary the urgency of affairs should induce the Court

of Vienna to wish rather to proceed to direct and immediate negotiation with France through the channel of General Clarke, or in such other manner as circumstances may point out, you and M^r Hammond will then govern your conduct according to the following Instructions.

You will enter with the Austrian Minister into the fullest and most unreserved discussion of the different points, which may come in question respecting the terms of Peace both for Great Britain and Austria.

With respect to the latter you will remark that from the moment that the resolution is taken by this Government to consent to, and even to advise the cession of the Netherlands to France if absolutely necessary as the price of General Peace, the most important and pressing interest which this Country can possibly have with a view to the affairs of the Continent is that the House of Austria may by some just and adequate compensation be continued in a situation capable of opposing, as it has hitherto done, a powerful barrier to the ambition of France. But the mode of providing for this must naturally be left to the decision of the Austrian government. And you will therefore explain that your Instructions are, to cooperate with the views of the Emperor in this respect. It is impossible to judge at this distance whether the Court of Vienna will turn it's views to acquisitions to be made in Germany by fair exchange of territories to be restored by the French there and in Italy, or whether His Imperial Majesty will rather look to receive His indemnification in the latter quarter only. In either case you have no other line to follow than that of expressing the satisfaction which this government must derive from the success of any plan, which without injustice to others shall give strength and resources to Austria.

On the subject of the Peace between Great Britain and the three maritime Powers of France, Spain and Holland, you will speak with the same freedom and openness.

In the Negotiation opened by Lord Malmesbury at Paris the King proposed the Status ante Bellum between Him and France, with the reserve of an arrangement on the subject of St Domingo, as the entire possession of that Island by the French would materially vary the relative situation of the two Powers in the West Indies.

To Spain His Majesty offered the application of the same principle, conquest having then been made on either side: But it was added that if any such conquest should afterwards be made an adequate compensation should be given for it, if restored.

With respect to Holland He intimated a readiness to restore a considerable part of what He has conquered from that Power, provided that the ancient Constitution and government could be restored: altho it was evident that such restoration would by no means replace that Country in the same political state in which it stood before the War, particularly with regard to it's means of protecting those of it's foreign possessions whose defence is so material to the security of the British Empire in the East. If this restoration of the government did not take place, the King then claimed the right to retain those Conquests, with the exception of so much as might be a fair equivalent for the cessions which He required from that Republic in favour of His Ally the Emp^{er}or.

And His Majesty required that Portugal should be comprized in the General Pacification.

The Terms, which under the present circumstances His Majesty would propose, are

1. The restoration to France of all His Conquests except Martinico; the cession of which Island to His Majesty could not be considered as being nearly an equivalent for the great accession of maritime, commercial and colonial power, which France would derive from the possession of the Netherlands and of St Domingo.

2. The restitution to Spain of the Island of Trinidad, unless it should be settled that in lieu of Martinico His Majesty should retain Trinidad with Tobago, or with S^e Lucie, or with any other Conquest made by His Majesty in the West Indies.

3. The restitution to Holland of all His conquests on that Power in the East and West Indies, with the exception of the Cape and Ceylon: the possession of both which points is of the greatest importance to the defense of the East Indies under the new state of things which would arise in Europe from the possession of the Netherlands by France and

4. Peace for Portugal on the footing which He before proposed.

By this Plan Great Britain would restore to France Pondicherry, Mahe, Chandernagore, S^e Lucie, The Islands of the Saints, Tobago, a large part of the Island of St Domingo, and the Islands near Newfoundland with the Fishery on the former footing.

To Spain, Trinidad.

And to Holland, Demerara and Berbice in the West Indies, and in the East, Cochín, Chinsura, and the Islands of Amboyna and Banda, with the smaller Islands in that quarter which afforded the means of carrying on the chief part of her East India Trade.

And, if Trinidad were together with any other of the West India Conquests substituted in the place of Martinico, the cession would on the whole be still more important.

All these are cessions, which the King offers with a view to promote the object of general Peace, and to procure for His Allies reasonable and adequate conditions, His Majesty not having lost during the war any part of His possessions as they stood at the commencement of it, and not having therefore any one object of restitution to demand from any of His Enemies. Nevertheless as a proof of his moderation and good faith the King is pleased to authorize you to declare to the Austrian Minister His readiness to accede to any Peace satisfactory to Austria in which the points already mentioned shall have been secured to Great Britain.

If either of the plans for treating under the intervention of other Powers shall be adopted, or if with such intervention a congress or general meeting at some central place in Europe of Ministers from the different Belligerent Powers shall be agreed upon, you will accede in the King's name to such proposal, and you will give the most explicit assurance that not a moment will be lost in sending a proper person to assist in His Majesty's behalf at such congress or meeting. And if the same is fixed to be held at any place central or nearly so to the Belligerent Powers, it is probable that such Person might arrive there as early as any of the Ministers from any other Powers.

If the Negotiation should under circumstances of pressure such as I have already described, be carried on at Vienna, you will there together with M^r Hammond declare yourselves to be authorized in virtue of the Full Powers herewith transmitted to you to treat and con-

clude a Peace conjointly with the Austrian Minister. You will concert with M. Thugut on every point that may relate to the most advantageous manner of bringing forward and enforcing these terms and of supporting at the same time the views and interests of Austria on the grounds already stated. But you will not on any account without further directions from His Majesty accede to any terms less favourable to Great Britain than those already stated.

If the immediate conclusion of Peace either at the Arch Duke's Head Quarters or at any other place in Italy or in Germany, where there would not be time to send a British Minister duly authorized and instructed, shall be rendered necessary by any Events subsequent to those of which we are now informed, you will in that case express to the Austrian Minister the King's entire confidence in the good faith and friendship of His Ally, and you may give Him a formal assurance of the King's adherence to any Treaty, which His Imperial Majesty may conclude on the behalf of Great Britain and Austria, and in which the terms already stated shall be secured to Great Britain. Of this paper I enclose a sketch for your information and guidance, but it must be left to your discretion and that of M^r Hammond to vary it as to form in such manner as the particular circumstances of the case may happen to require.

P. S. Since the above was written it has occurred to me that there are two cases not particularly specified in this Dispatch or in that N^o 23 which accompanies it. And altho' the line to be pursued in those cases seems to follow very clearly from what has been said on other points in those Dispatches I have thought it better to put you distinctly in possession of the ideas entertained here on the subject.

The first is, the possibility that even before the arrival of these Dispatches Negotiations may actually have been commenced with General Clarke.

If this has been done in such a manner as to leave it still possible to wait for the intervention of Russia and if the circumstances of the Campaign will allow it, the King as I have already stated to you would much prefer that manner of treating to any other. But if the pressure is too urgent, to admit of that delay you will then act as you are instructed to do under the circumstances of a negotiation whether for armistice or peace being opened on the same grounds subsequent to your arrival.

2^d The other case is, that of any considerable and brilliant success having been obtained by the Arch Duke. A circumstance of this nature would certainly remove the urgency of an immediate negotiation, and would therefore afford time for asking and obtaining the intervention of Russia. But it would not be considered here as superseding the necessity of such application, which on the contrary you are in that case to press to the utmost and by every argument that it is possible to use, in order to prove it's indispensable necessity.

5. An Interview of Governor Folch with General Wilkinson.

THE original of this letter was found among a large number of miscellaneous Cuban papers in the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts. It removes any doubt as to the truth of the statement, made by Yrujo to Cevallos, in a letter of November 10, 1806,

that, "by means of Governor Folch's connection with General Wilkinson, he [Folch] must be perfectly informed of the state of things and of Burr's intentions",¹ and throws new light on the apparently close and interesting relations between Wilkinson and the Spaniard. In his *Memoirs* Wilkinson makes no mention of any secret dealings with Folch, and we know nothing positively about their relations, except what this letter reveals, and also that, in January, 1807, Wilkinson solicited and obtained a letter from Folch. In this letter Folch declared that he had never been told by his uncle, Miro, the former governor, that Wilkinson had held a commission and enjoyed a pension from the court of Spain; he said also that there was no document in the records in his possession showing any such fact. The letter saw the light in *A Plain Tale*, etc. (New York, 1807), p. 19. It was reproduced by Clark in *Proofs* (appendix, 14), where it was confidently argued (pp. 64-67) that, while these statements of Folch might be true, they were specious and misleading and did not disprove the charge of Wilkinson's duplicity.

The personality of Folch is not well known. He was in his fifty-third year at the time of this letter. He had taken a prominent part in the campaigns of Bernardo de Galv  z which drove the British from West Florida (1779-1781), and had subsequently held important military commands in Louisiana and Florida. In 1789 he was made governor of West Florida; and he served in that capacity till November, 1812, when he was removed to Havana as lieutenant-governor; he died there in 1829.² He says himself, in the letter to Wilkinson above referred to, that he had resided in Louisiana and West Florida since July 14, 1783, when he went to New Orleans at the pressing invitation of his uncle, Don Estevan Miro, who was at that time governor.³ As the governor of West Florida he was frequently engaged in disputes with the governor of Orleans territory, W. C. C. Claiborne, concerning the claims set up by the United States to West Florida, the right of the Americans to use the Mobile, and the right of the Spaniards to carry their property up the Mississippi.⁴ At least as early as March, 1809, Folch had come to the conclusion that Florida would have to be ceded to the United States,⁵

¹ For this letter see W. F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 92.

² Pezuela's *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico, de la Isla de Cuba* (4 vols., Madrid, 1863-1866).

³ Miro was not appointed governor till July 14, 1785, but, as he was acting governor in 1783, we need not consider that there is any discrepancy.

⁴ Claiborne's Correspondence, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State.

⁵ Claiborne to the Secretary of State, March 19, 1809, Territorial Papers, Orleans Territory, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State.

and in the following year, when the province was threatened, he offered, December 2, to surrender it, if succor did not reach him from Havana or Vera Cruz before January 1, 1811.¹ During the crisis of the overthrow of the Spanish Bourbons by Napoleon, he declared himself in favor of the independence of Spanish America and seems to have conspired for that of Mexico.²

GOVERNOR FOLCH TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CUBA.

Sor Presid.^{te} Gob.^o y Cap.ⁿ Grál.

No. 72
Reservado.
Expresa las
causas que medi-
aron p.^a pasar
por Nueva Or-
leans al regreso
de Baton Rouge
p.^a Panzacola;
El obsequioso
recibimiento q.^e
á su llegada se le
hizo, y la corre-
spondencia y
conversaciones
q.^e durante su
permanencia en
Orleans tubo con
el General Wil-
kinson.

De resultas de una ligera indisposicion que tuve en Baton Rouge, tan ligera que aun en el mismo paraje fue ignorada de muchos, recibí una carta del Gobernador de N^{va} Orleans, de la que es copia la que va ad- junta. Su inesperado recibo, su contenido y lo que me participaron varias cartas particulares de d^{ha} Ciudad, me convencieron de que el citado Gobernador, y el General Wilkinson deseaban verificase mi regreso por la Nueva Orleans para que con los obsequios que me tenian preparados, hacerme olvidar la impolitica negativa que me dieron quando en mi viaje á Baton Rouge pedí pasar por aquel Territorio.

Ademas de la carta de que envio á V. S. copia, dh^{os} Sr^{es} se empeñaron con los sugetos á quienes saben meresco estrecha amistad, para que me induxesen á pasar por la Nueva Orleans; pero mi repuesta á estos fue en terminos dudosos, ocultandoles mi decidida determinacion á regresar á Panzacola sin tocar en Nueva Orleans.

A los ultimos dias de mi residencia en Baton Rouge, conoci empeño en algunas personas para saber el rumbo que intentava tomar en mi proximo viaje, y aunque me lo preguntaron directa é indirectamente; mis repuestas ambiguas y misteriosas los dexaron siempre en la duda. Mi equipage salio de Baton Rouge sin que nadie supiese, si los mandaria embarcar en el Misisipy para bajar por el á la Nueva Orleans, ó lo enviaria al Rio Iberville para dirigirme por el á Panzacola; pero estas dudas cesaron quando me vieron embarcar en este ultimo para transferirme por los Lagos.

Quando llegé á la boca del Bajo Manchak, el viento contrario me impidio salir al Lago Pontchartrain y en esta detencion fui visitado por una goleta procedente de N^{va} Orleans con varias personas enviadas por el General Wilkinson, el Gobernador Claiborne y diferentes personas de caracter y consideracion en d^{ha} Capital, no solo para obsequiarme sino para inducirme á entrar en Nueva Orleans. El primero me hizo decir que por un mero puntillo, no debia perjudiciar los intereses de mi Patria, que exigian me dexase ver en la citada Capital, y el Coronel Bellechase uno de los ultimos me hizo decir que si pasava sin entrar en la Nueva

¹ Folch to Robert Smith, December 2, 1810, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 398.

² Claiborne to the Secretary of State, March 19, 1809, and April 21, 1809, *Territorial Papers, Orleans Territory, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State*.

Orleans produciria un mal efecto entre las personas adictadas á nuestro Gobierno, y á él se le habia comisionado como diputado para venir á suplicarme accedise á los deseos de los Luisianeses y que por haberse sentido indispueto al momento de embarcarse, comisionava en su lugar á D^ñ Luis Declouet.

El solo punto que yo habia consultado para no ir á la N^{va} Orleans, era la economia á que me fuerza la cortedad de mi sueldo, pues habiendo ya gastado el correspondiente á un año durante el tiempo de la Expedicion, era preciso gastar el sueldo del otro año para concluir el presente, sin contar con los gastos extraordinarios que debia ocasionarme mi visita á la Nueva Orleans: Sin embargo al ver el empeño, en los terminos que llevo expuestos, no pude ni creí prudente resistirme.

Al llegar á la vista del Puente de S^ñ Juan salio una Falúa con un Teniente de Navio de la Marina de los Estados Unidos á suplicarme baxase á tierra en ella, y para no cansar á V. S. con la prolixidad que exigiria este detall[e], solo dire que si el mismo Presidente hubiese venido á la Nueva Orleans no hubieran podido hacerle mejor recibimiento q^o el q^o yo experimente.

Lo que ocupó algo mi imaginacion fue el buscar la causa del empeño q^o manifestaron el General y Gobernador en que yo entrase en N^{va} Orleans, sabiendo ambos que los obsequios que me haria el Pueblo eclipsaria sus dignidades, motivo, en el caracter de ambos, mas propio para alejarme, que para aproximarme de su residencia. Creí desde luego habria orden del Presidente para q^o efectuasen una reconciliacion conmigo á fin de disipar el resentimiento que podia haber producido la inesperada negativa que dieron á mi solicitud de pasar por Nueva Orleans al subir á Baton Rouge.

No me engañe en esa inferencia, segun me informo D^ñ Daniel Clark, diputado de la Luisiana en el Congreso, quien me aseguró haberle dicho el Presidente, quando se le participó que se me habia negado el paso por la N^{va} Orleans, que sentia esta determinacion del Gobernador Claiborne, que la habia reprehendido, y encargado procurasen repararla. Sin embargo no fueron en mi concepto los deseos del Presidente los que motibaron el fervoroso convite que se me hizo de entrar en dicha Capital, sino la conveniencia propia del General y Gobernador segun manifestará lo que voy á exponer.

Pocos dias despues de mi arribo á la Nueva Orleans, recibí á las siete de la mañana una espuela del General Wilkinson, pidiendo una audiencia reservada para la hora que me acomodase, y habiendole contextado dexandola á su arbitrio, vino á verme á las nueve del mismo dia trayendo consigo un lio de papeles. La conversacion que paso entre los dos en esta dilatada visita, seria muy larga de referir, y en obsequio de la brevedad solo diré lo que considero digno del conocimiento de V. S.

Es preciso antes de continuar entere á V. S. que durante los disturbios de Burr d^{ño} General ha mantenido constantemente una correspondencia conmigo por medio de una persona de su confianza, en que

me ha manifestado no solo las noticias que adquiria, sino tambien sus intenciones en los varios apuros en que podia verse.

Despues de los cumplimientos de estilo me dixo : V. es un verdadero Español para el secreto. No obstante haberle yo puesto á V. muy buenas centinelas no se pudo descubrir la intencion de V. hasta que no se embarcó en el Rio Iberville ; pero veinte y cuatro horas despues lo supe yo aqui é inmediatamente hice salir á su encuentro nuestro amigo comun Declouet, dando á V. muy sinceras gracias por el favor de haber adherido á mis ardientes deseos.

V. sabe en resumen lo que ha mediado entre Burr y yo, y V. sabe tambien que mis Enemigos quieren representarme uno de los conspiradores del partido de ese caudillo Rebelde. Estos papeles que traigo para presentar á la inspeccion de V. le convenceran, si he sido ó no fiel á la causa de mi Patria, y á los verdaderos intereses de la España. El examen fue largo por estar los mas en cifra ; pero de todo lo que vi quede plenamente persuadido habia obrado conforme á los intereses de la España, y asi se lo asegure para su satisfaccion.

Si V. esta convencido de mi recto proceder, espero no tenga reparo en auxiliarme contra los ataques q^e me preparan mis Enemigos. Sin duda tendra V. noticia de la representacion que se esta tramando en el Consejo Legislativo contra mi y el Gobernador Claiborne, promovida por el Cuerpo de Abogados de esta Ciudad para dirigirla al Congreso. Esta produccion se compone de lo mas negro y artificioso que la esencia de la malicia del hombre puede producir, y sabiendo yo que los que dirigen el Consejo Legislativo son todos Amigos de V. le suplico emplear sus esfuerzos para disipar esta obra que esta ya muy adelantada. Le conteste q^e haria cuanto estuviera de mi parte, y que en el termino de tres dias creia poder darle repuesta positiva. No sin bastante trabajo logre apoderarme de la pluralidad de votos ; consiguiendo al fin se rechazase la representacion que tanto temian el General y Gobernador, cuya noticia recibieron ambos con mucha satisfaccion.

A los pocos dias de haber obtenido la q^e llevo referida, solicitó de mi el expresado General me interesase, para q^e una representacion, que por medio de algunas personas que le eran adictas se promovia á su favor y del Gobernador en el Consejo Legislativo, pasase con aprobacion, lo que logré igualmente y crei deber prestarme á ello para manifestarles que la España podia serles util hasta en sus propios paises.

Esta es la causa principal del anhelo q^e manifestaron dhos Jefes para q^e visitase la Nueva Orleans : dexando concluido cuanto creo digno de la noticia de V. S. sobre este particular.

Dios qñe á V. S. muchos años.

Viz^{te} FOLCH.

PANZACOLA 25 de Junio de 1807.

Sór Marq^s de Someruelos.

[Indorsement :] R^{da} en 16 de Ag^{to} Cont^{da} en 22 de id.

[Translation.]

Mr. President Governor and Captain General.

In consequence of a slight indisposition which I suffered at Baton Rouge, so slight that even there many persons did not know of it, I received a letter from the governor of New Orleans, of which the enclosed is a copy.¹ Its unexpected receipt, its contents, and what was communicated to me in various letters from that capital, convinced me that the aforesaid governor and General Wilkinson desired that I should make my return by way of New Orleans, in order that, by means of the reception which they had prepared for me, I should be made to forget the impolitic refusal which they gave me when in my journey to Baton Rouge I asked permission to pass through that territory.²

Besides the letter of which I send Your Excellency a copy, the aforesaid gentlemen urged the citizens [of Baton Rouge], to whom they know I owe little friendship, to induce me to pass through New Orleans; but my reply to these was in doubtful terms, hiding from them my decided determination to return to Pensacola without touching at New Orleans.

Toward the last days of my residence at Baton Rouge, I discovered a desire on the part of some persons to know the route which I intended to take in my coming journey, and, although they asked me directly and indirectly, my ambiguous and mysterious replies kept them always in doubt. My baggage left Baton Rouge without any one's knowing whether it was sent to be shipped at the Mississippi to sail down this river to New Orleans, or to the river Iberville to take this route to Pensacola; but these doubts ceased when they saw me embark on the latter to go by way of the lakes.

When I reached the mouth of the lower Manchac, the contrary wind prevented my entry into Lake Pontchartrain, and while thus detained I was visited by a schooner from New Orleans with various persons sent by General Wilkinson, Governor Claiborne, and other persons of

¹ This communication is not among Claiborne's Correspondence preserved in the Department of State; but, looking through the six volumes of this Correspondence, we have found that a great many letters to which references are made, and especially inclosures, are missing. Cf., however, the following, April 24, 1807: "Governor Folch, accompanied by two or three Spanish officers arrived in this City last evening. I shall have a conference with him on this day, and will endeavor to make some arrangements as to the difficulties referred to in my letter of the 21st inst.", i. e., the opposition which Folch had made to the passage of American troops by the way of Mobile to Fort Stoddert.

² Folch was marching with three hundred men to the defense of Baton Rouge, which he believed would be the point of Burr's attack. See McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 264. In a letter to the Secretary of State, April 21, 1807, Claiborne explained that "The refusal of a passage by the route of N O to Baton Rouge, alluded to, happened in January last. At a period when this City was in a state of alarm by the movements of Burr, Governor Folch notified to me his arrival at the mouth of the Bayou St John, and requested permission to pass by N O on his way to B R.—he was answered in terms the most respectful, that it would be agreeable to me that he should continue his route by water; at the same time renewing to him the assurances of the friendly disposition of the Government of the U S towards that of Spain." MS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State. The answer to Folch was exactly in these terms. See Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, IV, 176.

position and distinction in that capital, not only to greet me, but to induce me to enter New Orleans. The former sent to tell me that on account of a mere punctilio I should not prejudice the interests of my country, which required that I should show myself in the aforesaid capital; and Colonel Bellechase, one of the latter, that if I passed without entering New Orleans it would produce a bad effect among the persons inclined to (adictadas á) our government, and that he had been commissioned as deputy to come to request me to accede to the desires of the Louisianians, but that, having felt indisposed at the moment of embarking, he commissioned in his stead Don Louis Declouet.

The only reason that I took into account for not going to New Orleans was the economy to which I was constrained by the limitedness of my salary, since having already spent a whole year's salary during the time of the expedition, it was necessary to spend the next year's to finish the present, without counting the extraordinary expenses which a visit to New Orleans would occasion me: in spite of this, seeing the eagerness which I have already described, I could not resist nor did I think it prudent to do so.

On coming in sight of the bridge of St. John there approached a yacht with a naval lieutenant of the United States to request me to go ashore in her; and, in order not to tire Your Excellency with the proximity which this matter would require, I will only say that if the President himself had come to New Orleans they could not have given him a better reception than the one I experienced.

What occupied my thoughts somewhat was the cause of the eagerness manifested by the general and the governor that I should enter New Orleans, both knowing that the reception which the people would give me would eclipse their dignities, a motive in the character of both more calculated to keep me from their residence than to entice me to it. I of course believed that there was an order from the President that they should effect a reconciliation with me, so as to dispel the resentment which the unexpected refusal that they gave to my request to pass through New Orleans on the way to Baton Rouge might have produced.

I was not mistaken in this inference, as I learned from Mr. Daniel Clark, deputy from Louisiana in Congress, who assured me that the President had told him, when he knew that passage through New Orleans had been denied me, that he regretted this decision of Governor Claiborne, that he had reprehended it, and had requested that they should try to make reparation for it.¹ Nevertheless, to my mind the desires of the President were not the reason for the fervent invitation made to me to enter that capital, but the personal convenience of the general and the governor, as will appear from what I shall relate.

A few days after my arrival in New Orleans, I received at seven o'clock in the morning a request from General Wilkinson for a private audience at any hour which suited me, and having replied, leaving it to his choice, he came to see me at nine o'clock the same day, bringing with him a bundle of papers. The conversation which took place between us in this extended visit would be too long to relate, and, for the sake of brevity, I will say only what I consider worthy the knowledge of Your Excellency.

¹ This is not confirmed by any allusion in Claiborne's Correspondence in the Department of State.

It is necessary before continuing to inform Your Excellency that during the disturbances of Burr the aforesaid general has, by means of a person in his confidence, constantly maintained a correspondence with me, in which he has laid before me not only the information which he acquired, but also his intentions for the various exigencies in which he might find himself.

After the formal greetings he said to me: "You are a true Spaniard for secrecy. In spite of my having set very good spies over you, your intention could not be discovered until you had embarked on the river Iberville; but twenty-four hours afterward I knew it here, and immediately I sent out to meet you our mutual friend Declouet, thanking you very sincerely for the favor of having adhered to my ardent desires. You know in brief what has occurred between Burr and myself, and you also know that my enemies wish to represent me as one of the conspirators of the party of that chief rebel. These papers which I bring to present to your inspection will convince you whether I have or have not been faithful to the cause of my country, and to the true interests of Spain." The examination was long on account of most of them being in cipher; but from all that I saw I was fully persuaded that he had acted conformably as suited the true interests of Spain, and so I assured him for his satisfaction.

"If you are convinced of the rectitude of my proceeding, I hope that you will not hesitate to help me against the attacks which my enemies prepare for me. Doubtless you are aware of the memorial against myself and Governor Claiborne which is being drawn up in the legislative council, promoted by the association of lawyers of this city, to be sent to Congress. This production is made up of the blackest and most fraudulent [lies] that the essence of the malice of man can produce, and knowing that those who control the legislative council are all friends of yours, I beg you to use your efforts to destroy this work, which is already very far advanced." I replied that I would do all in my power, and that within three days I thought I would be able to give him a positive reply. Not without a great deal of trouble did I succeed in securing the plurality of votes, obtaining at last the rejection of the memorial so much feared by the general and the governor, which news both received with much satisfaction.¹

A few days after having obtained the success to which I have referred, the said general solicited me to interest myself in order that a memorial which through certain persons who were attached to him was being promoted in the legislative council in favor of himself and the governor should be approved; this I also obtained,² and I thought

¹ The memorial was rejected by a vote of fourteen to seven. See *Debate in the House of Representatives of the Territory of Orleans, on a Memorial to Congress, respecting the Illegal Conduct of General Wilkinson*, March 16, 1807. A copy, with comments written on the margins by Governor Claiborne, is in the Library of Congress, Political Pamphlets, vol. 105. The memorial was presumably transmitted to the Secretary of State by Claiborne with his letter of March 23, 1807, as there stated, but the letter which he promised, pointing out its errors, etc., is not among his correspondence in the Department of State.

² The following is the only reference to this in Claiborne's Correspondence: "I have the honor to enclose you a copy of two addresses signed by many respectable citizens of this Territory approving the late conduct of General Wilkinson and myself." Claiborne to the Secretary of State, March 27, 1807. The addresses, however, are not among Claiborne's Correspondence.

that I ought to lend myself to it in order to show them that Spain could be useful to them even in their own country.

This is the principal cause of the anxiety which the aforesaid leaders manifested that I should visit New Orleans. I have said all that I believe worthy of your notice on this matter.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

VINCENT FOLCH.

PENSACOLA, June 25, 1807.

Marquis de Someruelos.

[*Indorsement:*] Received August 16, answered August 22.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Religious Persecution: a Study in Political Psychology. By E. S. P. HAYNES, late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. (London: Duckworth and Co. 1904. Pp. xi, 208.)

THIS is a small book on a large subject. Happily, its theme is narrower than its title. What really interests Mr. Haynes is not persecution but toleration, and toleration only on its political side; and for the period since the sixteenth century he restricts his study to England and America. Yet, even thus narrowed, the task he sets himself is not a light one. His object, he tells us (p. 17), is "not only to attempt a historical sketch of the growth of toleration in the civilisation of Western Europe and its outgrowths, but also to demonstrate that in general the political phenomenon known as religious toleration has necessarily a sceptical basis". Even so vague and so trite a thesis demands serious research; and the plea that "the subject here discussed ought to be discussed" (p. viii), so far from disarming criticism, is a confession that the theme is still too vital for careless treatment.

But Mr. Haynes's book is not a work of research. He is still a very young man. So lately as 1899, as we learn from his preface, he was an Oxford undergraduate; and, though he then began the present study, his work, he tells us, has been sadly interrupted by business. His book shows only too plainly these limitations. With the more discursive English writers on his topic he is familiar. He has even dipped into a few works of first-hand research, like the studies of Mr. W. M. Ramsay and Mr. E. G. Hardy on the relations of Rome and Christianity or Mr. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, but in so desultory a fashion that the statements he bases on them will perhaps startle their authors. His personal acquaintance with the sources seems limited to the verifying of a citation or two from the classics and the Fathers. Even in his knowledge of what has been written in English on his subject there are strange gaps, and of the existence in other tongues of a rich and multiplying special literature he shows no suspicion. He quotes, indeed, a single German essay—the translated address of Döllinger on the "History of Religious Freedom"—and he has used, in French, *La Cité Antique* of Fustel de Coulanges, Ernest Renan's *Origines du Christianisme*, and the general history of Lavissee and Rambaud; but of the monographs in these and other tongues, even though so pertinent as the studies of Paul Frédéricq or Francesco Ruffini's *La Libertà Religiosa*, neither his notes nor his text betrays any knowledge.

But, if Mr. Haynes's equipment be scanty, his courage is more than

ample. Of the modesty of his preface his text has little. With the easy omniscience of the sage or the sophomore and with a lightness of touch which borders hard on flippancy he shrinks from no generalization and his pages scintillate with epigrammatic *obiter dicta*. To the most famous case of Protestant intolerance he devotes two sentences (p. 94): "Calvin attempted to intimidate his opponents by the burning of Servetus, a mystical writer who criticised the doctrine of the Trinity. His person Calvin only obtained through collusion between the Catholics at Lyons and the anti-Calvin party in Geneva, who betrayed Servetus after promising safety to him." Could more of unverifiable assumption and grotesque misconception be compressed into so brief a space? Even more startling is his dismissal of the witch-persecutions. Scholars who have supposed these at their height in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries will be puzzled, if relieved, to learn (p. 59) that "It is common to think that Joan of Arc's condemnation as a witch was a judicial anachronism." Even Mr. Haynes knows a moment's doubt; for, having discovered Gilles de Retz, he hastens to aid: "Yet as late as 1440 one Maréchal de Rais was hanged and burned for sorcery at Nantes." Then, rising to a height of assurance which no evidence can shake, he appends this astonishing foot-note: "It is only fair to add that witches were often burnt both in England and Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *but not wizards*." After these specimens of Mr. Haynes's learning in his own field it would be trivial to point out such minor inaccuracies as his crowning of Charles the Great on Christmas Eve (p. 51), his placing of papal Avignon on French soil (p. 66), or his apparent confusion of Augustine of Canterbury with Augustine of Hippo (pp. 39, 43, 44) and of Sir Matthew Hale with Sir James Hales (p. 115). What really mars his book is not petty slips, of whatever sort, but a general thinness of historical knowledge which betrays itself in almost every paragraph.

The best part of the book is its sketch of the development of English thought on tolerance in the last three centuries; for here it shows some first-hand acquaintance with the sources. For America, on the other hand, Mr. Haynes confesses to reliance in the main on the work of Mr. S. H. Cobb; and, though he can hardly have learned from Mr. Cobb that Providence is in Massachusetts (p. 103) or that the free-mason Morgan was "drowned in Canada" (p. 34), it is clear from such generalizations as his assertion (p. 15) that "In the United States politicians use more rhetorical and sentimental language every year" that his personal researches into our conditions have not been profound. This is the more to be regretted because it seems to have been largely the defects of American toleration and his conviction that "it would be well for all to appreciate that a Church is not necessarily liberal because it is dissociated from the State, and, *vice versâ*, that a new country is not necessarily tolerant because it is new" (p. vii), which suggested the writing of his book. The late Professor Ritchie, he tells

us, "advised publication on these grounds". The dominance of that teacher's influence is, indeed, perceptible everywhere in Mr. Haynes's book; and not least is this the case in what concerns America. But Professor Ritchie, however resolute to be fair to the persecutor, is at bottom a loyal and consistent, if a temperate, friend of liberty. If he exposes the narrowness of our tolerance, it is to shame us into a broader. His dazed disciple is ready to condone all persecution, past or present, our own included; and the brutal dictum of Samuel Johnson, so indignantly repudiated by Professor Ritchie—"Every man has a right to utter what he thinks truth, and every other man has a right to knock him down for it"—Mr. Haynes declares (p. 7), "with certain reservations and qualifications, really hits the nail on the head".

Despite the inadequacy of its scholarship, the looseness of its logic, and the too frequent heedlessness of its style, Mr. Haynes's book has one great merit—its unblinking honesty. Could he have waited for ripeness of knowledge and of thought, he might well have given us a work of quite another value than the rambling speculations of a young university man who has mistaken interest for information and haziness of thought for openness of mind.

A Short History of Ancient Egypt. By PERCY E. NEWBERRY and JOHN GARSTANG. (Boston: Dana Estes and Co. 1904. Pp. ix, 199; London: Archibald Constable and Co. 1904. Pp. x, 111. Paging of the American edition used below.)

THIS little book presents a very readable sketch of the career of the Nile valley peoples. Such a panorama of three thousand years, however, puts to a searching test the ability of an author to perceive and in a few paragraphs to indicate with critical precision and incisive terms the essential characteristics of the successive periods which he surveys. It cannot be said that the book successfully meets this test. There is a painful lack of proper proportion. We find 124 pages devoted to the history before the Empire, while the Empire itself comes off with forty-five pages. Imagine a sketch of the history of Rome of which three-fourths were devoted to the earlier period of the Republic and one-fourth to the Empire! The 500 years from the reign of Rameses II to the rise of the Ethiopians is compressed into five pages, while the less than 500 years of the Old Kingdom, with its scanty records, receives thirty-five pages!

This inability to appreciate relative values results in misunderstandings fatal to any proper conception of the great periods as a whole. We are told for example (p. 149) that the domination of the foreign Hyksos in Egypt left "little trace—upon the ages which succeeded". As a matter of fact the rule of the Hyksos not only taught the Egyptians warfare, but, being the first example of a supremacy embracing the contiguous regions of two continents, was the beginning of that fusion of continents and nations which found its culmination in the period

inaugurated by Alexander and continued by the Roman Empire. It thus broke down completely the reticence and the conservatism of ages in Egypt, a process which the authors place over 250 years later at the close of the eighteenth dynasty! That the great invasion of Syria by the Hittites at this time caused the total collapse of Egyptian power in Asia seems to have been unperceived by the authors, and is not even referred to by them (pp. 161-163). Again, in this very age of Egypt's decline abroad the authors place an extension of the Pharaoh's conquests in the Euphrates valley among the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, with whom, as the Amarna letters show, the Pharaoh was at this time enjoying relations of profoundest peace and friendship! The identification of Hittites and Hyksos (and elsewhere also of Etruscans) is unfortunate, and is totally without basis; nor was there any Hittite invasion of Syria before the latter part of the eighteenth dynasty. These examples will illustrate the defects of the work. The presentation in the little book of the new results from the archaic age deserves consideration as a serious contribution. To these results the excavations of Mr. Garstang have made a number of valuable contributions, while the excellent field-work of Mr. Newberry has also added useful observations here and there throughout the book.

The American edition has some serious misprints: even the names of the authors are spelled "Newbury and Gastrang" on the cover. Of the invasion of the north by Narmer the text says (p. 30), "Entering through the portal of the Northern Kingdom, he vanished as he went". The English edition has "vanquished". It is presumable that the authors are not responsible for these errors.

Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland. Bausteine zu einer antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Von JOHANNES KROMAYER. Erster Band. Von Epaminondas bis zum Eingreifen der Römer. Mit sechs lithographischen Karten und vier Tafeln in Lichtdruck. (Berlin: Weidmann. 1903. Pp. x, 352.)

THIS book is the product of an expedition to Greece which was undertaken at the joint expense of the University of Strasburg and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. At the head of it was Professor Kromayer, now of Czernowitz, and with him were associated as expert advisers Captain Göppel and Colonel Janke of the General Staff of the German Army. The undertaking, which had for its purpose the location and delineation of battle-fields in Greece, was aided and encouraged by the governments, officials, and scholars of several nations. The book thus produced stands at present in the center of a very animated controversy. It arose in the following way. Professor Hans Delbrück had published the first volume of his *History of the Art of War*—that dealing with antiquity—and was on the point of issuing the second when the expedition returned. Professor Kromayer at once gave a lecture (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1900, pp. 204-211) on his

investigation of the battle-field of Sellasia (221 B. C.), and developed a view divergent in its respect for Polybius and in its general plan from that which Delbrück held. He had earlier incurred the displeasure of the distinguished Berlin professor by a noteworthy article in *Hermes* (XXXV, pp. 217-253), entitled "Vergleichende Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Heerwesens." Accordingly, Delbrück devoted two introductory sections of his second volume to a rather imperious settlement with his youthful critic. The *Antike Schlachtfelder* then appeared. Kromayer did not throw oil on the troubled waters. In controversy he proved to be a past-master. His style was cold and irritating like that of Matthew Arnold, and in addition to a lively imagination and a strong sense of humor he displayed a rare faculty for making difficult demonstrations seem perfectly obvious. The book in fact was so exasperatingly plausible that it captivated the laity generally, and elicited the hearty commendation of no less than Wilamowitz. This provoked Delbrück to such a degree that in his own journal, the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (CXVI, 1904, pp. 209-240), under the caption "Theologische Philologie" he made a most amusing and vigorous onslaught upon this advocate of Kromayer. In it he refused to admit the right of any but a devotee of Clausewitz to a judgment in military matters, and—*Publizistennatur im besten Sinne des Wortes*, as Kromayer maliciously remarked—raised an alarmist's cry against scientific dogmatism and in particular against that phase of it for which, he said, Wilamowitz was notorious, and which, he claimed, took the form of a divine revelation.

Delbrück was patronizing toward Kromayer. Kromayer responded by assuming that the subject of his book, to which Delbrück, and after him perhaps most notably E. Lammert ("Die neuesten Forschungen auf antiken Schlachtfeldern in Griechenland", *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XIII, 1904, pp. 112-135, 195-213, 252-280), had given much thought, was still in its infancy; that maps of the battle-fields in Greece were the first prerequisites for a reconstruction of the ancient contests; and that all general conclusions on the art of war in antiquity were premature until reliable plans of the scene of action were in existence. It cannot, we think, be denied that Kromayer depreciated the topographical investigations of his predecessors, and that he felt unduly elated over the novelty and success of his own results. He gives us, indeed, six excellent maps, but all except one are compiled from earlier existing charts, and the one entirely new is the work of Captain Göppel. These maps certainly define within narrow limits the area in which the four battles considered: Mantinea, 362 B. C.; Chæronea, 338 B. C.; Sellasia, 221 B. C.; and Mantinea, 207 B. C., were fought, and must serve, with some slight additions or modifications, as the basis for all future interpretations of the literary accounts, but it is by no means likely that Kromayer has determined with finality the exact location of each engagement. Indeed, it has already been

demonstrated by Georgios Sotiriades (*Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts zu Athen*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 301-330), through a closer study of the battle-field of Chæronea, that this lay farther to the east in "the dancing-ground of Ares" than Kromayer made out. And while the writings of Lammert and of Delbrück's pupil, Gustav Roloff (*Probleme aus der griechischen Kriegsgeschichte*, Historische Studien, Heft III, Berlin, E. Ebering, 1903, pp. 141), have, it seems to us, failed in their object to discredit Kromayer's work generally, and have not proved his incapacity for all such investigations, they do make it clear that many questions have still to be settled before we can use the terrain as evidence for the tactics followed at Mantinea and Sellasia.

We rate highly the positive results of Kromayer's work—less highly, perhaps, than the author himself, or than those whose judgments were expressed before Lammert and the school of Delbrück fell afoul of the book. The chief value of the work, however, seems to us to lie in the charm with which the subject is invested. Kromayer has really remarkable talent in exposition. We are sure that, right or wrong, his treatment of the ancient battle-fields will do more to stimulate interest in the military history of antiquity, and thereby promote knowledge of it, than any other work that has recently appeared, Delbrück's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, in spite of its rare qualities, not excepted.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Griechische Geschichte. Von JULIUS BELOCH. III. *Die griechische Weltherrschaft.* Erste und zweite Abteilungen. (Strasburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1904. Pp. xiv, 759; xvi, 576.)

OF these two volumes, the first contains an account of Greek thought and action from Alexander's crowning victory at Arbela to the time when Rome's advent in the east limited the freedom of Greek initiative (220 B. C.); the second carries the reader into the author's workshop, and shows him how the stones were prepared from which the edifice was erected. The genius of Beloch is well known. Persistency and skill in breaking through the mass of ancient combination and modern construction which hides the sources of our knowledge, rejection of the traditional as uniformly doubtful, a keen sense for the factors in history which admit of scientific measurement, success in linking the past to the present by judgments founded upon a well-considered, if somewhat individualistic standard of values, complete domination of the material, a straightforward, vigorous style—these are the qualities and methods which have led scholars to await with hope, interest, and anxiety Beloch's treatment of the period to which these volumes are devoted.

Volume III, part I, may be divided into three unequal portions. The first (pp. 1-260) carries the narrative down to the irruption of the Gauls in 280 B. C., the last (pp. 556-759) continues it from that point to the

time when, according to Beloch, Greek history properly ends. In between lies what to the general reader will prove the most interesting part of the work, a series of chapters of the sort which Mommsen has made famous, essays in which are sketched with a firm hand the background of action, the framework of political and social life, the geographic, economic, and spiritual movements of the people. As a whole they constitute the most comprehensive presentation of third-century culture which now exists. Particularly excellent are those on the material conditions and the scientific knowledge of the time. Beloch has long since established his reputation as one of the few scholars really competent to speak with authority on the subject of Greek economic history. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that, notwithstanding Francotte's well-delivered attack upon the view for which Meyer, Pöhlmann, and he are sponsors, he has not modified his general conception of the extent of ancient industry. To Beloch the third century is the time of greatest material prosperity—not indeed for the home Greece, though the decline there was not so rapid as is often imagined, but for the new Greece in the east. Cities comparable with London and Paris in the seventeenth century arose, and for similar reasons, *Volkswirtschaft* had become *Weltwirtschaft*. Life became richer and freer, the world bigger and safer. Merchant ships of 4,000 tons sailed the seas; new roads were opened; capital became more abundant and more enterprising, and fortunes grew rapidly. The whole scale of living was raised.

Beloch has been accused of being a materialist. That is not just. He has, indeed, laid more stress upon the connection between prosperity and culture than is usual in a Greek history. But it was full time for an innovation in this particular. On the other hand, he displays the greatest admiration for the things of the mind. Thus, while identity of language determines for him the Hellenism of the Macedonians, he offsets the new political system they inaugurated by the unbroken continuity of culture. But he regards science as the finest product of human effort, and hence makes the third century the culminating point of Greek intellectual as of material development. Progress had hitherto been uninterrupted. The Homeric age was higher than the Mycenaean, the Dorian invasion being not a fact but a myth. The fourth century eclipsed the fifth, the glory of the Periclean age being in part reflected from the marbles of the Parthenon. Rome destroyed Greek character and culture. Such is Beloch's view—one, it is clear, not uninfluenced by the theory of evolution.

With it men may disagree. Few, however, will fail to be impressed by Beloch's exhibit of the range and excellence of the scientific work of the period. Eratosthenes computed the circumference of the earth at 252,000 stadia = 27,775 miles. Aristarchos determined the relation of the earth's volume to that of the sun to be in the proportion of 1 to 254-368, and consequently abandoned the geocentric in favor of the

heliocentric hypothesis. Euclid's geometry was a mere text-book and by no means abreast with the mathematics of his time. Archimedes and Apollonios, the probable founder of trigonometry, were the two greatest Greek mathematicians. Herophilos discovered the nervous system and the function of the brain, as well as the essential features of the circulation of the blood. History became highly, perhaps excessively, specialized, but unfortunately no comprehensive work was done to coördinate and fix the new knowledge thus acquired. Philology, which has damned the time of its birth by its canons of classicism, developed, and as one of its achievements established for all time the text of Homer.

The narrative portion of the volume is excellent. The story advances rapidly. The aimless confusion which followed Alexander's death is gradually straightened out, and for fifteen years (316-301 B. C.) the center of interest remains Antigonos, the founder of the dynasty which subsequently ruled Macedon—the only man, in Beloch's judgment, who had the capacity and ambition to hold the empire together. At his death the centrifugal tendencies prevailed, and new kingdoms arose. At the same time the scene of action widens, and eventually the whole world is included. Hereupon Beloch stops a while to appraise by means of a statistical survey the resources of the great powers, Carthage, Rome, Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, at this the moment before the storm which was shortly to rise in the west. Nowhere else can one find so clearly demonstrated the superior strength of the Italian confederacy. Then we are led to see how the barbarians close in upon the devoted Greeks. Sandracottus had already wrested India from Seleucus. The Celts now occupy Thrace and the heart of Asia Minor. Rome annexes Magna Græcia, and reaches over to Sicily. The beginning of the end is thus made, and with great skill Beloch shows how the history of all the peoples is connected from this point on by the delicate calculations of *Weltpolitik*.

At the same point at which Droysen's interest flagged the history ends abruptly, many lines of development being roughly snapped. The *Hellenismus* has long since been antiquated through the advance of knowledge, but not till now has it been superseded by a new structure conceived on the same big plan as itself.

Volume III, part 2, is a series of investigations comparable with Mommsen's *Römische Forschungen* and Meyer's *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*. It lacks the soberness of the one and the catholicity of the other, but perhaps surpasses both in perspicuity and variety. Not all the chapters are of equal value. Chapter IV, entitled "The Kings of Macedon", seems to the reviewer a good sample of Beloch at his best. Chapter III, "The Attic Archons", does not on the whole represent progress. The treatment of the problem of Demochares (pp. 374 ff.) is, to use one of the author's own phrases, *gänzlich verfehlt*.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate.

By A. H. J. GREENIDGE, M.A., D.Litt. I. *From the Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the Second Consulship of Marius, B. C. 133-104.* (London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xiv, 508.)

THIS work, which the author tells us in his preface is to be extended to six volumes, is apparently to contain the summing up of the results of Dr. Greenidge's work during the past decade in a field in which he has been one of the more prolific of English writers. His *Infamia in Roman Law*, published in 1894, showed what the author could do in the way of grouping together the isolated facts in regard to this peculiar institution of the Roman law and presenting them in such a way as to show the full moral and social significance of a national "rule of manners". The more pretentious *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, published in 1901, makes a thorough study of the legal institutions of the republic and differentiates them from the same or similar ones described in our later legal sources. We may expect, when Dr. Greenidge comes to this period in his *History*, to find him using the results of this work as a foundation for the history of the times, just as he used for the volume now before us the little book of sources published in 1903 under the title of *Sources for Roman History* (see this REVIEW, IX, 851-852). According to the provisional plan for the entire work, the second volume is to end with the first consulship of Pompey and Crassus, 70 B. C.; the third, with the death of Cæsar; the fourth is to include the third civil war and the rule of Augustus; while the last two volumes are to carry the story to the accession of Vespasian.

The author offers no excuse for beginning a six-volume work on this comparatively limited epoch in the history of Rome; possibly because he thinks the work may be its own apology, if the succeeding volumes are as well done as the first one; possibly because he feels that no excuse is necessary for attempting to cover properly the period that Mommsen the Great left inadequately considered. Certainly the period chosen is an entity demanding separate treatment, extending as it does from the beginning of the revolution in the later republic, when Tiberius Gracchus drew the issue sharply between the two conflicting theories as to the seat of sovereignty in the state, and extending to the year when, as Tacitus says, "the secret of empire got out, that the princeps could be chosen elsewhere than at Rome". Mommsen's *History*, which brings us to the death of Cæsar, seems likely to remain a magnificent torso, though our hopes were aroused by reports at the time of Mommsen's death in regard to the probability of its having been completed in manuscript. A new edition of Merivale has been promised for some years but is not yet forthcoming, and George Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic* has always been one of the books that we admire but do not read. A proper consideration of the period coming at the conjunction of Long with Merivale, bringing together in one whole what

may well be called the history of the origin and development of the principate, is a desideratum, even though such a work extends to six volumes in these days of tabloid literature.

The author does not attempt to give a résumé of the political history leading up to the time of the Gracchi, for the reason which he himself assigns, namely, that he has already treated the subject in his *Roman Public Life*, and that a sufficient knowledge of it may be assumed on the part of the reader. He devotes his first chapter, instead, to the social and economic history of Rome and begins his story proper with Tiberius Gracchus.

In this period of revolution the constitution was violated so often that it practically ceased to be, and constitutional history was supplanted by the life-histories of successive dominating personalities in the state. The economic and social disturbances broke the bonds of the old constitution, and economic and social forces carried these dominating personalities along in their extra-legal, if not illegal, careers. Dr. Greenidge keeps these significant facts constantly in the foreground. In discussing the deposition of Octavius, the tribune who opposed Tiberius Gracchus, he says (p. 127): "This could hardly be based on considerations of abstract justice, although, as we shall see, an attempt was made by Tiberius Gracchus to give it even this foundation. Could it be based on convenience? Obviously, as Gracchus saw, his act was the only effective means of removing a deadlock created by a constitution which knew only magistrates and people and had effectively crippled both."

The importance of the political leader is shown, too, by Dr. Greenidge in the extended treatment given the Jugurthine war. This picturesque episode in Roman history is of lasting importance in the life of the state, principally because it brings forward the two great dominating personalities of Marius and Sulla. Mommsen devotes twenty pages to Jugurtha. Greenidge gives the major part of three out of eight chapters of his first volume to the Jugurthine war—more than seven times the amount allowed by Mommsen; and a good story it is, too, not only in the description of the interesting military movements but also in the skilful portrayal of the motives affecting the people and the plutocracy, in their conflict with the aristocratic party, and the virtual defeat of the former by the successful termination of the war through the capture of Jugurtha by Sulla. "The end [of the war] came through diplomacy, not through battle, through an unknown quaestor who belonged to the old nobility and possessed its best gifts of facile speech and suppleness in intrigue, not through the great 'new man' who was to be a living example of what might be done, if the middle class had the making of the ministers of the State" (p. 472).

The citations given are a fair sample of the excellent style of the work throughout. It will appeal strongly to the general reader, whom the English litterateur always keeps in mind, but it is addressed also

to the scholar, as based on the original sources and presenting the results in accordance with the most advanced ideals of history-writing. It may be said that this firm grasp of the subject is not so evident in the opening chapter. Although this gives copious references to the original sources, the citations from the secondary treatises are relatively more numerous, and it is only when we get into the body of the work, which is based firmly on the original material, that the real power of the author is shown. It is to be hoped that the author may change somewhat the distribution of the subject-matter when he comes to the principate so that we may have rather more of Augustus and his epoch-making reforms, at the expense of a curtailment of the history of the later Julian-Claudian dynasty. The literal-minded reviewer has some difficulty in making the connection between Blake's verse on page xiv and the body of the work. But these minor strictures are offered rather in deference to the theory that one of the functions of the critic is to criticize than with the thought of serious condemnation of the excellent piece of work that Dr. Greenidge has given us.

JOSEPH H. DRAKE.

A Short History of England. By EDWARD P. CHEYNEY, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1904. Pp. xvi, 695.)

THE title of this new text-book of English history inevitably suggests J. R. Green's well-known *Short History of the English People*, and there are, indeed, quite a few points of similarity between the two books. While not going so far as Green in treating the literary and social sides of England's past, Professor Cheyney has carefully avoided the "drum and trumpet" element, and his text will be particularly welcome to those teachers who are seeking to emphasize the economic and institutional aspects of English history. The book is well planned throughout, and although about one hundred pages longer than the average text-book of history in this country, its easy style and well-diluted facts should make it possible for the pupils to cover the whole of it in one year.

In a brief preface the author gives us the viewpoint from which he approaches his narrative. In the first place, he would make certain fundamental facts of physical and political geography, of race, and of early institutions "absolutely clear and familiar"; secondly, he would include in the narrative only such facts as were significant; thirdly, he would cling closely to the thread of English history; and lastly, he would omit all "statements and allusions the significance of which could not be explained in the book". A careful examination of the contents of the history will show that the author has consistently followed the plan outlined in the preface. The first two chapters, on "The Geography of England" and "Prehistoric and Celtic Britain", are excellent of their kind. The third chapter, on "Roman Britain", gives

one of the fullest and best descriptions of that interesting period to be found in any school or college history, while the two following chapters, on "Early" and "Later" Saxon England, give an admirable account of early institutions and government. Beginning with the reign of Alfred, however, and continuing through the remainder of the book there is a noticeably vague treatment of the political narrative. We feel often that the author is making too much go on behind the scenes and leaving the stage bare of players and of action. In the writer's opinion too many important names and events have been omitted in the endeavor to include only the significant ones. In his treatment of England's relations with the continent Professor Cheyney has on the whole been very successful. The first part of the Hundred Years' War is especially well handled, and the continental wars of the eighteenth century are judiciously dealt with. In regard to the omission of statements and allusions which could not be fully explained in the book, the wisdom of the author's policy can be seriously questioned; for a history text-book that does not arouse the pupil's interest and desire to know more than the text gives only half fulfils its mission, and is likely to present a rather colorless narrative. The school-boy mind is always an inquisitive one, and much of the interest in history study is kept alive by the explanation and discussion of matters referred to in the text but not always fully explained.

Space will not permit us to touch on many very commendable features of Professor Cheyney's book, but reference must be made to the excellent pedagogical apparatus it possesses. Numerous sketch-maps and full-page colored maps, adequate genealogical tables, well-selected pictures and illustrations, and last, but not least, most serviceable bibliographies, of a critical character and arranged topically, add greatly to its value as a text and work of reference. From printer's and other errors the work is remarkably free, and such as do exist will be easily found and corrected. The index, though omitting a few names of persons and places mentioned in the text, is on the whole adequate and satisfactory.

NORMAN MACLAREN TRENEOLME.

A History of the United States and its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. In twelve volumes. Volume I. By ELROY MCKENDREE AVERY. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company. 1904. Pp. xxx, 405.)

THE author and the publishers of this book are to be congratulated on the production of a work that is so handsome in form, so readable, and comparatively so free from the errors and florid rhetoric found in most popular histories. In size and weight the volume is somewhat awkward to handle, and opinions might differ about the artistic merits of the conventionalized patriotism depicted on the cover, but in other respects certainly the exhibition of the book-maker's handicraft is ad-

mirable. The clear, accurate, and softly tinted maps are gems in their way, and so complete is the list that a reproduction of any part of Waldseemüller's *mappemonde* is the only serious omission the reviewer has noted. Marginal headings and dates strengthen the educational value of the text, even if some of the poetical quotations do not. Both in statement and conclusion, furthermore, the text is generally in accord with the best literature of the subjects treated. A few of the chapters appear to have been written in extenso, and most of them to have been revised, by specialists before they were molded into the narrative. The scrupulous care thus taken to please "men and women of general culture", for whom the book is intended (p. ix), and incidentally to placate "professional historical students", is very commendable.

In their effort to impart a peculiar antiquity to the history of this country, most historians have been content to begin with the discovery of America, but Dr. Avery is so desirous apparently of beginning at the beginning that he devotes about one-sixth of the entire book to the geology, paleontology, and archæology of the territory in North America now covered by the United States. This description of what might be called the prehistoric United States and its inhabitants is excellent. Early geographical notions about the world beyond Europe, a rather long chapter on the Northmen, and a few words concerning Prince Henry the Navigator prepare the way for the story of Columbus. The period of discovery and exploration up to 1600, traced in strictly chronological sequence, occupies the remainder of the book, with the exception of the last chapter, which is given over to an interesting account of the Indians. This is supplemented by a very useful appendix of "statistics regarding Indians and Indian reservations in the United States". A "bibliographical appendix" that is distinctly above the average found in works of this class concludes the volume.

While no one will deny that the work is the result of "a conscientious struggle for betterment" (p. xi) or that a serious attempt has been made to render it trustworthy, some obscurities, errors, and other defects have escaped detection. Assuredly the statement that in the middle ages "learning shrank into the cloister and barbarism flooded Europe" (p. 102) needs great modification. The "maker of the Catalan planisphere" (p. 105), "the treaty of 1479" (p. 152), and the "printed Scillacio" (p. 165) are mentioned without further explanation. The connection of Bartholomew Columbus with the voyage of Dias (*sic*) is given as doubtful on p. 110 and positive on p. 127. Santangel was not a "receiver of ecclesiastical revenues" (p. 129), any more than was Fonseca the "official guardian of the royal treasury" (p. 157), or Roldan "chief justice" of Española (p. 197). It is generally understood now that the influence of the Spanish clergy was on the whole helpful, rather than hurtful (pp. 139, 178) to the projects of Columbus. That the Genoese devoted eighteen years of his life to the realization of his great idea (p. 139), or that the migratory egg myth was placed

on end for the first time at Cardinal Mendoza's banquet (p. 151), would be difficult to prove.

Spanish and French accents are regularly omitted, and some of the Spanish words are wrongly spelled. "Santa Maria de Rabida" (pp. 124, 128) should be written "Santa Maria la Rábida"; "el Antigua", instead of "del Antigua" (p. 244); and "de la Roque", instead of "de la Roche" (p. 309). Hylacomylus is a Greco-Latin, not a Greek, equivalent of Waldseemüller (p. 235). The dates of Coronado's expedition (p. xxix) and of the "statute of 1392" (p. 337) are incorrect. Nor does the statute in question declare that "no power stood between God and the crown" (p. 337): the spiritual supremacy of the pope was fully acknowledged at the time. In this connection the statements on pp. 155, 182, 275, and 337 about the relations of England with the Holy See need reconciliation. The allusions to Nombre de Dios (pp. 206, 217) are also in conflict. Several errors appear in the brief accounts of the Council of the Indies and the Casa de Contratacion (pp. 156, 157). If "a maravedi is equivalent to about a quarter of a cent" (p. 157), how are three thousand maravedis worth "about eighteen dollars" (p. 123)? The quotations from the papal bulls (pp. 152, 158), and the excerpt from Las Casas, filtered through Fiske, are inaccurately translated. Besides, Fiske is not a safe guide in drawing distinctions between the "repartimiento" and the "encomienda" (p. 220).

In what respects did Columbus ignore "the two hundred and seventy leagues that the Spanish monarchs had given to Portugal" (p. 160)? That the notions of the Genoese about the location of the earthly Paradise—"these children of a teeming fancy", as the author terms them—"were destined to be placed side by side with the soberer statements of Americus Vesputius, and thus to make it more easy to rob the great discoverer of his right to fix his name upon a world that he had found" (p. 195), is hardly susceptible of proof. Las Casas was not a friar at the time he sailed with Ovando (pp. 203, 266). The remarks, also, about that ecclesiastic's historical works (pp. 203, 270) should have been combined so as to avoid leading the reader astray, and mention should have been made of the fact that Herrera's work published in the early seventeenth century was based in part upon the *Historia de las Indias*. Scholars are generally agreed that Columbus did not pass the end of his life in poverty (p. 222), and the ashes of the discoverer have never been "borne to Madrid" (p. 224). It is questionable, furthermore, whether the exigencies of the narrative required the insertion of the grewsome tales of Spanish cruelty (pp. 220, 245), or a splenetic outburst against the Spaniards (p. 225), which is untrue in its sweeping generalization. Nor is it a fact that "within a few years" after 1519, the Spaniards "possessed themselves of Mexico, Central America, and two-thirds of South America" (p. 225).

The chapter devoted to "Vesputius and 'America'" contains a number of mistakes. The Florentine went to Seville in 1492, and not

to Cadiz "at a date not definitely known" (p. 226). Humboldt's assertion carries no weight in proving that Vespucci was "engaged in equipping the third expedition of Columbus" (p. 230). The present state of knowledge on the subject does not justify the characterization of the Soderini letter as a "probably fraudulent narrative" (p. 236). As to the "alleged *Quatuor*" voyages (p. 233), the doubt is not about the number, but about the date of the first one. In the enumeration of the voyages, also, no reference is made to the second. The passage from the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* (p. 236) is incomplete in sense and erroneous in translation. To be exact, moreover, the allusion to "America" in this passage is not "the first known occurrence of the name" (p. 236), as an examination of Vespucci's letter will show. And in the remarks concerning the application of the name "America" (pp. 236-238), the fact that on his map of 1513 Waldseemüller substituted "Terra Incognita" for "America" should have been mentioned.

Bartholomew Columbus died in 1514, not in 1515, and Luis Columbus received an estate of twenty-five square leagues, not of "twenty-five leagues square" in Veragua (p. 242). "A sort of colonial court of appeals" is a poor definition of the *audiencia* (p. 242). The present duke of Veragua, be it said, has considerably more than his title (p. 243). Oviedo can hardly be characterized as "the historian of the West Indies" (p. 246). The number of men in Magellan's expedition is incorrectly given (p. 247), and no real appreciation of the importance of his maritime feat is vouchsafed. Cortes and Las Casas (pp. 252-262, 266-271) have no more place in a history of the United States than Luther and "his defiant ninety-five theses" (p. 253) have in the story of Cordova's cruise. The blotting out of Indian slavery was not "due altogether" to Las Casas (p. 269), and Bandelier's estimate of the bishop of Chiapa is certainly worth more than Fiske's (pp. 270-271).

Not until the end of the chapter on "East Coast Exploration" is any intimation afforded that the purpose of the explorers was to discover "the northwest passage to Cathay" (p. 278). Nor is it true that "all but four of the men" surviving from the shipwreck of Narvaez's expedition "soon died" (p. 284); or that Menéndez de Avilés gave no quarter "even to women or children" (p. 319). The number of French inhabitants killed at Fort Caroline cannot be stated precisely at "a hundred and forty-two" (p. 319). Contrary to the implication on pp. 328 and 329, there was no real difference between Gilbert's "commission" and Raleigh's "charter"; and the latter was not confirmed by Parliament twice (p. 330). It may be doubted, also, whether at the time of Elizabeth "the crown and the parliament were engaged in a struggle for the sovereignty, with the privy council as a buffer between" (pp. 329-330).

In the opinion of the reviewer, those portions of the chapter on the Indians which concern the relations of these people with the United

States as such, and the Indian statistics given in the appendix, ought to have been reserved for a later volume in the series. The remainder of the text would then have fallen into its natural place after the account of prehistoric America. Many of the generalizations about the Indians are not sufficiently supported by the evidence adduced, and the estimates of the present Indian population in the United States conflict (pp. 342, 359). In view, also, of the author's previous denunciation of the way in which the Spaniards treated the natives (p. 225), he seems unconsciously to have made out a pretty good case for the English and Americans as practical exterminators of the aborigines (pp. 341-342), despite the very extraordinary remark about the "policy of the government" since "the time of John Eliot in 1650" (p. 361).

Passing now to the bibliographical appendix, the author states in his introduction to it (p. 370) that many valuable works have not been mentioned "for the reason that they are practically inaccessible to the general reader". The omission seems to apply more especially to books in a language other than English. It might be queried indeed whether Dr. Avery has done wisely in rendering accessible to the general reader even by name the text-books, antiquated magazine articles, and useless works of the dilettante class which he has cited occasionally. Some of the more important works, also, are either out of print or else procurable only in a few great library centers. Nor are the lengthy lists of books so well arranged as they might be in order to stimulate readers to further investigation. The notes and references are numbered consecutively as a whole and alphabetically under each chapter-heading, without any direct allusion to the text. Even if the author has eschewed foot-notes, he could have devised some real connection between the specific statements of the text and the books he mentions in the appendix. And the cultured reader might like to know more than is vouchsafed about the relative value of the works he is advised to consult. As it stands, his reading is apt to be of the haphazard sort.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

A Text Book of American History. By WILLIAM ESTABROOK CHANCELLOR. (New York: The Morse Company. 1904. Pp. 653.)

THE novelty of this new text-book tends at first to create an interest, but the interest soon changes to amazement. Mr. Chancellor could perhaps defend some of his innovations, but it may be pardonable to point them out. Why begin the book with a five-page outline of American history, of which the student is supposed to know nothing? The paragraph headings are as follows: "(1) The Age of Discovery and Exploration, 1492-1607. (2) The Amazing Success of Three Centuries, 1607-1904. (3) Wars with the Red Men. (4) A Nation with a Republican Constitution, 1787-1904. (5) The Early Expansion of the Republic, 1773-1803. (6) The Terrible Question of the Negro Slaves was

Involved in that of the Right of a State to Secede, 1820-1865. (7) All Men Became Free and Equal before the Law, 1863-1870. (8) The Number and Wealth of Our People and the Extent of Our Empire. (9) The Purpose of the Study of Our Country's History is that We may become Wise as well as Loyal Citizens." There follow three pages on "Historical and Geographical Relations", which open with the statement, "American History tells of — 1.", etc. — fifteen categorical statements in all about matters unrelated and in that form unintelligible to a school-boy. This is followed by seven suppositions as to how different our country's history would have been (1) if the Alleghenies ran east and west, (2) if the Mississippi river ran east, (3) if the Rockies were in the east, (4) if a mountain plateau separated the St. Lawrence basin from the Mississippi, etc. Now, we ask, why all this categorical arrangement of material that should be brought into the story at its proper place? Again, is this mass of information—the character of which we will not discuss—teachable? Can it be digested at a single pedagogical meal? Is the pupil at that stage of the study in any condition to understand such material? The suggestions to teachers have already been given—and they are curious enough to interest any teacher—therefore this matter seems intended for students. After this introduction, and without a word of the conditions in Europe, the trade with the east, or the reasons for a voyage to the west, the story of Columbus and his discovery is told. We cannot go on with this outline to the end, but at least one other peculiarity of the arrangement must be pointed out. After the chapter on the American Revolution there is a chapter called the "Story of Expansion"—thirteen curiously contrived pages which tell of all annexations up to the present time, and this is followed by the story of the Confederation and the Constitution.

The book may, in fact, be characterized as a categorical history of the United States. Some of the author's summaries, though rather too daring and unqualified, are suggestive and useful, as is that of the composition of the Revolutionary party (p. 202). Limitations of space prevent our calling attention to all the errors, but a brief category will show their nature. Palos furnished two ships not three (p. 27), and not as an annual liability but as a particular one. Also Santangel lent, did not give, Columbus money; and it was not his own treasure but that of the Hermandad. The Cape of Good Hope was not discovered (p. 32) until 1487, not in 1486. Waldseemüller did not know Vespuccius (p. 35), and the latter was not a geographer. On page 204 we find the erroneous statement that England taxed to pay the sum expended in defending Canada, but it was in fact for the purpose of defraying future expense. The comment on Franklin in the first line of page 229, and that on the French (p. 246), show utter ignorance of the French motives for aiding America. On page 245 "twenty-two thousand subjects hired of the Grand-Duke of Hesse-Cassel" is nearly double the actual number. The episode of Clark and the Kaskaskia

dance (p. 258) appears in spite of the ample evidence against it. The importance of the capture of the *Serapis* by Paul Jones is greatly exaggerated (p. 270). But this sort of error is too frequent to be exhaustively presented. The proportions of the work are certainly not conventional, and we doubt whether the author can defend them. The book closes (part VI) with a medley of matter well worth while in its proper place, but here it is dumped in as a hodgepodge. Cities, cotton machinery, steamboats, railroads, canals, coal and iron, manufactures, agriculture, precious metals, banking, electricity, machinery, labor, corporations, capital, international leadership, wealth, incomes, instructive comparisons, disappearance of poverty, dissemination of knowledge, education, libraries, literature, lectures, art, fairs, national associations, physical training, philosophy, medical science, fraternal societies, religion, franchise, America as a promised land, etc., etc., are treated in the order named. On the whole the book may be useful to a well-trained teacher as a suggestive handbook not to be taken too seriously.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume I. *European Background of American History, 1300-1600.* By EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, A.M., Professor of History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xxviii, 343.)

THIS is the first volume of Professor Hart's coöperative history, and the reviewer may perhaps be expected to discuss the undertaking in general. But he feels justified in leaving this to the devotees of American history, and will confine himself to this volume, viewing it from the standpoint of the American student of European history. The title of the book is not a very precisely descriptive one, and is apt to raise expectations that cannot very well be satisfied. The author declares (p. 3) that "To set forth the conditions in Europe which favored the work of discovering America and of exploring, colonizing, and establishing human institutions there, is the subject and task of this book", and forestalls criticism in large degree by declaring (p. xxviii) that he will deal "only with some of the most important and earliest of these European occurrences and conditions". The book, he adds, "merely attempts to point out the leading motives for exploration and colonization, to show what was the equipment for discovery, and to describe the most significant of those political institutions of Europe which exercised an influence on forms of government in the colonies, thus sketching the main outlines of the European background of American history" (p. 4).

It is of course unreasonable to look in such a brief sketch (315 pp.) for an exhaustive treatment of a very large topic, and the question that mainly concerns us is whether the selection of material here made is on the whole to be concurred in or not. The indefinite nature of the title and of the subject demands perhaps a full statement of the contents

of the book. The first two chapters (pp. 3-40) aim to show the later medieval and Renaissance conditions as to trade and exploration that are the basis of the pushing out from Europe of which the American discoveries and settlements were the chief outcome. This statement is concerned almost wholly with the trade between Europe and Asia, and is a very interesting part of the book; but in view of the matters that are thus crowded out the reader may doubt the expediency of giving it so much space, even though concurring in the author's opinion that "Increased knowledge, improved equipment, instruments of astronomical observation, navigating charts, and a race of educated navigators, made a part of the European background of American history as truly as did the incentive to exploration afforded by the search for new routes to the East" (p. 59). Two chapters (pp. 41-78) are next given to the early work in trade and exploration of Italians and Portuguese, embracing excellent descriptions of the conditions under which such work was then conducted. Chapters v and vi, under the titles "The Spanish Monarchy in the Age of Columbus, 1474-1525", and "Political Institutions of Central Europe, 1400-1650", describe the work of the new monarchy in Spain, and the Spanish, French, and Dutch institutions that are of importance in regard to colonial development. Then follows under the title "The System of Chartered Commercial Companies, 1550-1700" a good statement of the characteristics and methods of the companies "which established the greater number of American colonies" (p. 124). This is particularly useful through the lucid way in which it points out the essential differences between these organizations with their far-reaching activities, and the earlier less national associations of traders, operating through municipally-backed merchant guilds and in municipal leagues. Chapter viii, "Typical American Colonizing Companies, 1600-1628", discusses the colonizing activities of the chartered companies in America, as represented by the English Virginia Company, the Dutch West India Company, and the Company of New France, analyzing their charters, comparing their characteristics, and pointing out generally the nature and importance of their work.

The author now turns from the topic of colonization to that of emigration (we might say from the corporation to the individual) by taking up the religious element, in the chapters entitled "The Protestant Reformation on the Continent, 1500-1625", "Religious Wars in the Netherlands and Germany, 1520-1648", "The English Church and the Catholics, 1534-1660", "The English Puritans and the Sects, 1550-1689". The author's view of the importance of the religious factor is indicated by the space thus given to it; while, however, he expresses the opinion that for more than a century religious motives were probably the most effective ones in English colonization, it should be noticed that this is a much more moderate view than might be looked for from Professor Hart's editorial reference in the preface (p. xxv). The subject of English conditions is continued through the rest of the book

(pp. 240-315), in the chapters "The Political System of England, 1500-1689", "The English County and its Officers, 1600-1650", "English Justices of the Peace, 1600-1650", "English Parish or Township Government, 1500-1650". Enough space is thus taken for a fairly full presentation of English institutions, and the study is particularly good, smacking of fresh individual investigation (though perhaps not quite justifying some of the expressions of Professor Hart's showman-like prefatory laudation), and presenting the general American reader with what the reviewer is inclined to suspect is the best brief statement of this kind available. Especially judicious and valuable is the stress laid upon the actual working of English local government. The volume closes with a very valuable "Critical Essay on Authorities" (pp. 316-331); there are various good maps, and the foot-note citation of authorities is quite satisfactory.

It must be evident from this summary that this is a useful and interesting book, and that in many respects no better introduction to American history could be desired. The work is all well done, is relieved frequently by the touches of the man of literary sense, and shows at every turn marks of wide reading and of first-hand work. It seems moreover accurate in a degree very unusual in general statements covering so wide a field. That such a volume was worth while and that Professor Cheyney has furnished it with very considerable success can hardly be denied. But the field it deals with is so large and so suggestive that critics will probably differ widely in their judgment as to selection and emphasis. On the whole the present reviewer is ready to acknowledge that he has grave doubts whether more that is worth while could have been presented in this space, and whether the emphasis can properly be attacked. But while it might not be just to suggest that the book bears marks of haste, it probably could be materially improved by the more close knitting together of sections that at present appear in a somewhat fragmentary if not disjointed state. It is on the side of omissions that the book can be most seriously criticized. While the religious impulse in emigration is sufficiently emphasized, the relations between the English and the continental sides of it are scarcely indicated, and almost no reference is made to the democratic trend of these new views and organizations. Too sharp a distinction is probably made between religious and other motives; as in the England of the seventeenth century, so in the seventeenth-century English colonization it must have been frequently impossible to say whether the sectarian was thinking most of civil or of religious liberty, or whether indeed he was really thinking of liberty or of domination. The whole Reformation aspect of the European life of the time is imperfectly set forth in not being regarded sufficiently in the light of an arrested or an about-to-be-arrested movement; which would suggest the presentation of the American sides or effects of it as largely a successful evasion of arrest, with the consequence of being the opening or one of the

aspects of the opening of a special American development. International conditions are scarcely touched on, though in various ways the student of the upgrowth of the colonies must have them in mind, and though the author refers (p. 210) to the minds of men through all Europe as "turning towards America . . . as . . . a base for the fighting out of Old-World quarrels". From the standpoint alone of national characteristics and relations it would have been of great interest to have had estimates of the national types about to be given an opportunity of amalgamating in the new country, and some description of the feelings entertained at the start toward one another. It is not quite sufficient to introduce us to the home conditions of the New York Dutch and the New England English and the Pennsylvania Germans; we should like to know also something of the light in which these peoples appeared to one another, of the way in which they were likely to look upon one another in America.

The reviewer hopes that these remarks may not seem captious. He has expressed his sense of the necessary limitations of the book, and has little doubt that Professor Cheyney could strongly defend his use of his space. In any case the book is an excellent opening of this as yet so slightly worked field; it would most probably be a great gain to American and to European history if Professor Cheyney should himself continue to work in it.

VICTOR COFFIN.

Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556. By ALBERT FREDERICK POLLARD, M.A., Professor of Constitutional History, University College, London. [Heroes of the Reformation, edited by SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, Professor of Church History, New York University.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Pp. xv, 399.)

PROFESSOR JACKSON has been exceedingly fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Pollard to write the life of Cranmer for this useful series of biographies. No one could be better qualified for the task. Mr. Pollard can lay claim to a special knowledge of the mid-Tudor epoch second only to that of Dr. James Gairdner; he has already put forth, within the last five years, three important books dealing with that period, in addition to numerous contributions covering the same field in the *Cambridge Modern History*, the *English Historical Review*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*; finally, as assistant editor of the latter work he has had long practice and experience in biographical writing. The merits of the present work are great and obvious; they are in fact precisely what one would expect of a mature scholar with the training and qualifications just mentioned. The book can rightly claim to be the first considerable biography of Cranmer which has been written according to the canons of modern scientific historical work. It is obviously based in large measure on original research; it is clear, and for the most part consistent and convincing; and though it contains

nothing that is startlingly new, it arranges in useful and readable form a vast amount of hitherto scattered and not always trustworthy information.

The best parts of the book are the first chapter, dealing with Cranmer's parentage, birth, and early years, and the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, dealing with his career under Edward VI. At the outset Mr. Pollard is able to impart some interesting information concerning the archbishop's family history which has escaped the notice of Cranmer's previous biographers, and for which he acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Mr. R. E. Chester Waters's *Memoirs of the Family of Chester of Chicheley* (London, 1878, 2 vols.). With the Edwardian period the author himself is especially familiar; his most scholarly work has been done in this field; and his account of the life of his subject between 1547 and 1553 is beyond praise. It is interesting to note that Mr. Pollard's attitude in regard to all the main characters of the reign remains substantially the same as it was when his *England under Protector Somerset* appeared five years ago; he may now, we think, be fairly considered to have made out his case in favor of the young king's uncle and to have demonstrated the error of regarding the entire reign "as one period, marked throughout by the same characteristics, methods, and aims". He devotes considerable space in this part of his book to a discussion of the development of Cranmer's theological views, especially to the changes in his beliefs about the sacrament, and justly enlarges upon the archbishop's inestimable services to the church of England in preparing the Book of Common Prayer. "That the English Church survived was due in no small measure to the exquisite charm of her liturgy; and that was the work of Cranmer" (p. 223).

Mr. Pollard's treatment of the archbishop's career under Henry VIII seems to us, however, much less satisfactory. There is evidence that this part of the book was done under pressure, and too hastily: there are a good many loose phrases, and some positive errors of fact. It is certainly an exaggeration to say that Henry VIII "had launched into war against Louis XII. because that king attacked the Pope's temporal States" (p. 27), or that the author of the *Utopia* "in theory . . . believed in religious persecution" (p. 131). The Great Bible was not "printed in Paris" (p. 113): on the contrary the Royal Inquisition got wind of the attempt to do so, and interfered, so that the work had to be carried on and completed in England. Thomas Cromwell was not executed "on the 20th of July" (p. 139), but on July 28. Then again, one cannot help feeling that the fact that Mr. Pollard's book is one of a series called "Heroes of the Reformation" has led him to present this earlier and less glorious portion of the archbishop's career in a more favorable light than he otherwise would have done. There is little that is really heroic about Thomas Cranmer under Henry VIII, and we think that Mr. Pollard would have done better frankly to admit this,

than to confuse subserviency with humility befitting a Christian prelate, and timidity with loyalty to a strong king. In his chapter on Cranmer's character and private life, however, Mr. Pollard returns to a more judicial standpoint. Indeed throughout the bulk of the present work, as in his previous books, his attitude is that of one who realizes that the earlier unscholarly eulogists of the reformers went too far at first in one direction, but also that their opponents, influenced perhaps by the Tractarian movement, have of late gone too far in the other. It is obviously his desire to give both sides their just due and no more, but in the attempt to do this he is often almost insensibly led to adopt the attitude of an apologist of the reformers, because such a large number of recent writers have erred on the other side.

The story of the last three years of Cranmer's life under Mary is briefly and simply told; it gives a much clearer and more intelligible account of the seven famous recantations than is elsewhere accessible, and good use is made of the magnificent climax afforded by the archbishop's glorious death. It is also a pleasure to find in a book which is as certain to be widely read as this a correction of the popular notion that Cranmer was burnt at the place where the Martyrs' Memorial now stands; his death occurred, as Mr. Pollard points out, on the other side of Balliol College, in what is to-day "the Broad", but what was then an empty ditch. The exact spot is now marked by a plain stone cross in the ground, and an electric-light standard above it keeps off the carts and wagons whose passing to and fro "over the place where [the martyrs] yielded up their souls" was thought "not respectful" by the Tractarian Pusey.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

Maps Illustrating Early Discovery and Exploration in America, 1502-1530. Reproduced by Photography from the original Manuscripts. Issued under the Direction of EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Rutgers College. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: 1903-1905. Twelve maps in 124 sheets, with folio printed covers, and key-maps with explanatory texts.)

THIS series of great cartographical monuments is by far the most important contribution of its kind ever issued under American auspices. It was planned by Professor Stevenson as an aid to American scholarship and with no thought of monetary profit. He discussed his plans with a few scholars interested in this field of investigation and, in December, 1902, sent to about a dozen large and representative American libraries type-written proposals, in which he unfolded both the plans and the approximate costs, and solicited their subscriptions to the co-operative scheme. He, on his part, agreed to manage the arrangements for procuring negatives or photographs in the widely scattered repositories of Europe, where the unique originals repose; and by the exercise of great patience, tact, and untiring effort he has succeeded in securing

for the first time complete facsimiles of all of them in the sizes of the originals.

The plans met with favorable acceptance, and sets of the series were ordered by enough subscribers to make the issue possible. The first number was delivered in August, 1903. Since American scholars will wish to consult these maps, a list of the depositories of the sets is given here. It will be noticed that all of them are in the United States. They are located geographically as follows: Massachusetts: Harvard College Library; Boston Public Library; Forbes Memorial Library (Northampton). Rhode Island: John Carter Brown Library; George Parker Winship (Providence), private set. New York: American Geographical Society; New York Public Library (Lenox Building); Archer M. Huntington (New York city), private set; Cornell University Library. New Jersey: New Jersey Historical Society; Princeton University Library; Rutgers College Library; Professor Stevenson, private set. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Library. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress. Illinois: Newberry Library. Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Also one set not yet definitely disposed of, making eighteen full sets in all.

As these maps are of great historical and geographical importance, it is perhaps relevant to discuss them separately and in more or less detail, following the numerical order assigned to them in the series, and by which they may become known in future brief citations of them. Six of the maps, in ninety-nine sheets, are photographic prints; the remaining half are reproduced in twenty-five sheets by the Bierstadt artotype process, directly from the negatives. In explanation it may be said that some of the foreign depositories made it a condition that the negatives should not pass out of their jurisdiction, otherwise Professor Stevenson would have made the series uniform by the artotype process, as that method presents advantages not attainable by a photograph. On the whole the results are excellent. It will now be possible to collate with this series the former sectional lithographs in Kunstmuseum, Kohl, Kretschmer, Harris, and others, in so far as they have used American parts of any of the maps. But for the larger part of the world, this series presents the only opportunity to study side by side these planispheres.

(1) Cantino, 1502-1504. Photograph, fifteen sheets; whole size, 1060 by 2180 mm. The original is on vellum, colored and gilt, and had a checkered career, during which it was used as a cover for a screen. Giuseppe Boni, librarian of the Biblioteca Estense, at Modena, Italy, found it in 1859 in the shop of a pork-butcher, from whom he purchased it, and after restoring it gave the map to the library over which he presided. Alberto Cantino was envoy of Hercules d'Este, duke of Ferrara (died 1505) to the court of Portugal, and kept his patron informed of the discoveries made under Portuguese and Spanish auspices.

As the duke wished to have them indicated upon a map, Cantino employed a cartographer in Lisbon, who was probably an Italian, and this map was in the making from December, 1501, to October, 1502. The cursive handwriting represents subsequent additions, based, it is thought, upon the third voyage of Vespuccius, from data which Cantino procured from him on his return. How the map wandered out of the duke's possession is not known. Next to the Juan de la Cosa planisphere (1500) it is the oldest known map upon which the New World is sketched, and it exerted a far-reaching influence, particularly upon the Portuguese-German type, as represented by Waldseemüller and Schöner. Besides the Vespuccian data it utilized the results of the third voyage of Columbus (1498), of Corte-Real (1501), and of Cabral (1500); was dependent largely upon Portuguese sources, and is the first known map in which the West Indies received the appellation of "Antilhas". There is a precision and fullness to the Asiatic coast as not shown before. Harrisse was the first to issue a portion, namely the New World, in his *Les Corte-Real* (1883), but the nomenclature of his facsimile is not absolutely accurate. His greatly reduced sections, in *Discovery of North America* (1892), are too small to be serviceable, and Stevenson presents for the first time the whole map in its full size by direct photography.

(2) Munich-Portuguese, 1502-1504. Artotype, six sheets; whole size, 1040 by 1170 mm. Original in the Royal Library, Munich. It exhibits certain features of the Cantino map; shows Newfoundland as an elongated island; gives some new names, and represents the coast of South America in particular. It belongs to the Lusitanian type of charts, which did not influence much the later cartography. Kunstmann (No. 2) and Kretschmer reproduced only the New World portion.

(3) Pilestrina, 1503-1505. Artotype, four sheets; whole size, 1220 by 830 mm. Identified as the work of Salvatore de Pilestrina, of Majorca. The original is in the Königlich Bayer'schen Haupt Conservatorium at Munich. It is a kind of Catalano-Lusitanian map of the world; shows an admixture of Italian and Portuguese, with Spanish traits, and contains the discoveries of Corte-Real and of Vespuccius. Harrisse places it "after 1502"; Peschel, 1502-1503; Kohl, 1504-1505; and Sophus Ruge, 1503-1504. Only the American portion was reproduced before, by Kunstmann (No. 3) and Kretschmer (plate ix: 1); of these, the larger is Kunstmann, who gives less than half of the map, in somewhat reduced dimensions. The original extends to the eastward as far as the Red and Black seas and South Africa, and its appearance indicates that it may have been larger.

(4) Maggiolo, 1519. Artotype, one sheet; whole size, 335 by 500 mm. Original by Vesconte de Maggiolo, in Royal Library, Munich, where it belongs to an atlas of seven maps on vellum. It gives more islands than any preceding map; follows the Canerio rather fully for coast names, and, according to Harrisse, "for the period between the

Peter Martyr map (1511), and the Turin chart (*circa* 1523), . . . it fills a gap in the Hydrography of the New World, which cannot be replaced, thus far [1892], by any other cartographical document." Reproduced, but not with all the nomenclature, by Kunstmann (No. 5) and Santarem.

(5) Munich-Portuguese, 1516-1520. Artotype, six sheets; whole size, 630 by 1260 mm. Original in Royal Library, Munich; formerly attributed erroneously to Salvatore de Pilestrina. It is the earliest known map in which Balboa's discovery of the Pacific is designated, namely, as "Mar Visto Pelos Castelhanos". The demarcation line of Tordesilhas, June 7, 1494, divides the map, and the names of the Bahama Islands and South America seem to be dependent upon Spanish sources. There are several reproductions of American sections, particularly Kunstmann (No. 4) and Kretschmer (plate XII: 2), of which the former is the best, but it shows only about one-third of the whole map and omits place-names.

(6) Turin-Spanish, 1523-1525. Photograph, twelve sheets; whole size, 1125 by 2600 mm. Original on vellum, in the Library of the King of Italy, at Turin. The legends are Spanish and Latin, seldom Portuguese, and the map, next to La Cosa's, is the first to be founded on Spanish discoveries. HARRISSE says it is "the most valuable cartographical document of the sixteenth century which we possess for the nomenclature", and he lauds its accuracy in this respect. Merely shown before in a sketch-map by HARRISSE.

(7) Salviati, 1525-1527. Photograph, twenty-four sheets; whole size, 950 by 2055 mm. Original in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence, on paper, and receives its present name because it bears the coat of arms of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, who was nuncio in Spain from 1525 to 1530. Its nomenclature is in Spanish, Latin, and Portuguese; and it exhibits only the east coast of America from Labrador to the Straits of Magellan, but the coast-lines of Africa and southern Asia have a very replete series of names. The ship *Victoria* of Magellan is shown with an inscription. Now reproduced for the first time.

(8) Wolfenbüttel-Spanish, 1525-1530. Artotype, four sheets, representing two sections; original size, according to W. Ruge (A, 652 by 855 mm.; B, 557 by 854 mm.); on parchment. It is in the style of Ribero, and is a portion of a planisphere, in colors, exhibiting America from Labrador to Patagonia; the sheet with the Old World regions is lost. The original is in the Grand Ducal Library, Wolfenbüttel, having been purchased by the Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1604-1666). The place-names are Portuguese, but of Spanish influence, and the nomenclature of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is noteworthy, since it is the first Spanish map on which it appears. A photograph of it was loaned to the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, but was not returned and has disappeared. Otherwise, Stevenson's is the first known reproduction.

(9) Weimar-Spanish, 1527. Photograph, twelve sheets; whole size, 805 by 2160 mm. Original, on parchment, in the Grand Ducal Library, Weimar. Variouslly ascribed to Ferdinand Columbus, Nuño Garcia de Torenó, and Ribero, but the maker has not been absolutely determined. It has the date 1527, and "is the first extant official Spanish marine chart". It portrays for the first time the New World as a whole land mass, in the north named "Mundus Novus" and in the south "Brasil"; and the Straits of Magellan are set down correctly for the first time. The American section was reproduced, not with absolute fidelity, in Kohl's *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika* (Weimar, 1860). Now shown as a whole for the first time.

(10) Maggiolo, 1527. Artotype, four sheets; whole size, 1700 by 600 mm. Original, by Vesconte de Maggiolo, on parchment, colored, in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. It influenced later maps, and HARRISSE says, it "represents closely a prototype, still unknown, on which were inscribed Verrazanian data, shortly after the return of the Florentine navigator". The American portion was given by WEISE and HARRISSE, reduced, and the late B. F. De Costa had three copies made, size 345 by 990 mm., two of which are in the New York Public Library, but no complete facsimile in full size is known. STEVENSON'S reproduction has not been sent out, at the time of this writing, but it will prove to be among the choicest of the series.

(11) Ribero, 1529. Photograph, twelve sheets; whole size, 850 by 2125 mm. Original, on parchment, by Diego Ribero, in the Grand Ducal Library, Weimar, mended in places. It is by one of the best cosmographers of his time, and a work of first importance. Reproductions of the American portion have appeared in several places: SPRENGEL, *Ueber J. Ribero's älteste Weltcharte* (Weimar, 1795), SANTAREM'S *Atlas de Mappemondes*, KRETSCHMER (plate xv), NORDENSKIÖLD'S *Periplus* (plate XLVIII), and particularly in Kohl's *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, but the latter shows only one-third of the whole map, and his nomenclature is faulty.

(12) Verrazano, 1529. Photograph, twenty-four sheets; whole size, 1270 by 2560 mm. Original, by Girolamo da Verrazano, brother of the American navigator, in the Library of the Propaganda Fide, Rome, to which it was bequeathed by Cardinal Stefano Borgia, in 1804, with his museum. All of its nomenclature is in Italian, and it shows the discoveries of Giovanni da Verrazano, being also the first Italian map to inscribe the name "Tierra America", here placed across Venezuela, while it names the site of the United States as "Nova Gallia, sive Ivcatanet", the last word being likely a curious misapplication of Yucatan. It has been described often, and ALESSANDRI, of Rome, photographed it some time ago, but in what size has not been determined. The reductions by Brevoort, Murphy, and others are imperfect. The STEVENSON facsimile, however, affords American students the first opportunity to study it properly. The key-maps have not been issued thus far.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France. By A. W. WHITEHEAD.
(London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. ix, 387.)

THIS capital volume deserves a hearty welcome both for its substantial worth and its interest as an example of the excellent results which may be obtained when capable and well-trained historical scholars apply their scientific spirit and methods to the exploitation of a field which they have hitherto rather neglected, that of historical biography. The author was the winner of the Stanhope historical prize at Oxford in 1896, and in his extensive linguistic equipment, well-developed critical spirit, and firm grasp upon the general field in which his subject lies he exhibits just those qualifications for his task which we should expect from the Oxford traditions and arrangements for the pursuit of historical studies. With these qualifications at his command and through extensive research at the principal manuscript repositories of London, Paris, Rome, Turin, Parma, Mantua, Modena, Florence, and Naples, he has produced a volume that is a real contribution to knowledge and the first adequate biography of Coligny in English.

The proportions of the book are excellent. About one-third of the space is devoted to Coligny's career prior to the wars of religion; the story of the first three of these wars consumes another third; the remainder is given over mainly to Coligny's anti-Spanish policy in 1570-1572, his efforts to establish Huguenot colonies in the New World, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. There are two appendixes, one of which is an elaborate and apparently conclusive discussion of the much-mooted question of the responsibility for that article in the treaty of Hampton Court whereby the English were to be put in possession of Havre. Mr. Whitehead holds that Coligny and Condé were not in any wise responsible for it, and that its insertion must be laid at the door of the Vidame de Chartres, who in this matter probably exceeded his instructions. The value of the book is considerably enhanced by twenty-four full-page illustrations and several maps, plans, and tables. All of the illustrations are reproductions of contemporary pictures or objects, nearly every prominent character mentioned in the book being represented by a good portrait.

At several points Mr. Whitehead has reached distinctly new conclusions. Nevertheless, the principal value of his work lies elsewhere. Upon most of the important features of Coligny's career his conclusions are substantially those generally accepted or at least those already presented by one or more of his predecessors in the field. The value of Mr. Whitehead's work then lies in the greater assurance with which these conclusions may now be held, since they stand confirmed by an independent, painstaking, and searching investigation in which each previous conclusion has been critically examined and its acceptance made to depend upon new arguments and the support of materials hitherto unused.

In a more extended notice it would be the duty of the reviewer to

point out a number of defects. Such adverse criticisms would deal principally with the inadequate treatment of certain topics, such as the Reformation in France and the rise, character, and distribution of the Huguenot party; with an occasional deficiency in the manner of presentation, due principally to faulty arrangement; and with erroneous allusions to matters lying outside of the author's special field. The absence of a bibliography is to be regretted, especially as many of the citations are given by brief title, and verification is thus made difficult. These faults, however, are neither numerous nor serious enough to detract materially from the general excellence of the volume.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The American Nation: a History. Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 4. *England in America, 1580-1652.* By LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D., President of William and Mary College. Volume 5. *Colonial Self-Government, 1652-1689.* By CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, Ph.D., Professor of History in Bryn Mawr College. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xx, 355; xviii, 369.)

IN refreshing contrast to many elaborate historical works of the day, this great coöperative enterprise suggests the study rather than the shop, and each new volume is certain of an eager welcome. The theme of the two volumes before us is English colonization in America during the seventeenth century; and the point of division between the two treatments is the year 1652, in which the supremacy of the Commonwealth was recognized throughout the colonies.

The luxurious style of volume is reason enough why the two books are not within one cover; but it may be questioned whether they should not have come from one author. The promise of twenty-eight volumes in the series, together with the imposing appearance of the books, gives rise to an expectation of abundant detail; but, owing in part to the sumptuous page, this impression is delusive. These two volumes comprise less than one-third the matter in Mr. Doyle's three on the same field, and the treatment sometimes is necessarily scant. The waste of space and the other inevitable weaknesses of the coöperative method should not be intensified by needless subdivision of the labor. Moreover, some quaint inconsistencies in the two accounts challenge attention. For instance, Dr. Tyler (p. 322) estimates the population of New England in 1652 at 50,000, while Dr. Andrews puts it correctly (p. 3) for the same period at half that figure. Still more vexing are the omissions and overlappings. Dr. Tyler carries somewhat beyond his date the disputes among the squabbling Rhode Island communities; Dr. Andrews, in order to trace the evolution of Rhode Island unity, repeats much of this troublous story—but neither writer finds it within his province to give real prominence to Rhode Island's stand for religious freedom. The territorial disputes between Dutch and Swedes and English are

told in both books; but nowhere does the interesting internal development of the Dutch colony receive serious attention. Both writers, too, deal with the dissensions of 1652-1654 between the New England Confederation and Massachusetts. In this case, to be sure, other features of Dr. Tyler's book give cause for the suspicion that he is here tempted slightly beyond his natural limits by his wish to emphasize that early instance of "nullification" in a New England union; but for many phases of internal history the dividing point is at best an arbitrary one.

Dr. Tyler begins his story with excellent chapters on the genesis of the colonizing movement and on the heroic failures of Gilbert and Raleigh. In the account of Virginia, the struggle for existence in the strange American environment is clearly presented; the "gentlemen" of the early migration are vindicated as good colonizing material; and the patriotic work of the London Company, "the greatest and noblest association ever organized by the English people" (p. 89), receives due attention. Dr. Tyler's statement (p. 3) that his subject is "the bold assertion of England to a rivalry [with Spain] in European waters and on American coasts" applies with especial fitness to this first third of the book. Dr. Tyler is particularly happy in tracing beginnings. From the charter of 1606 to the arrival of Lord Delaware, the story of Virginia fills thirty-four pages, while thirty suffice, practically, for the following thirty years. Likewise, of the thirty pages on Plymouth, thirteen are given to events prior to the landing of the Pilgrims. The entire account of the Pilgrim colony, be it said, is admirable in a high degree. Dr. Tyler here gives a noble example of the sympathetic way in which one would like to see a descendant of the Cavaliers treat all the New England story. When we come to the distinctively Puritan colonies, this promise, unhappily, is not made good; but here, too, the opening chapter, dealing with events preceding the arrival of Winthrop in America, is accurate and adequate. Especially satisfactory is the portrayal of the fact that the genesis of the Massachusetts Company had no manifest connection with sectarian Puritanism, and that the project for transferring the government to America marked a radical change of policy.

The great fault of the book is Dr. Tyler's bias against the Puritan and for the Cavalier. The South has suffered so grievously from New England writers that a desire to redress the balance is natural; but, if only for the credit of Southern scholarship, one regrets that Dr. Tyler has fallen so far short of historical catholicity. The editor informs us that the Puritan fathers are to be "further relieved of the halo which generations of venerating descendants have bestowed upon them"; but this gives faint warning of the author's method. The Puritan practice of expelling dissentients is properly pronounced persecution; but it is also denounced, tritely, as "totally illogical". Sometimes Dr. Tyler distorts simple external facts, as in an amazing statement (p. 321) about the "wholesale hanging of Quakers and witches" under the rule of

Endicott and Norton, and in an equally remarkable description of the early rule of the assistants in Massachusetts. "The Bible", we read in the latter passage (p. 202), "was the only law-book", and (picturesque invective getting the better of the author's control of English) "offenders were not merely law-breakers, but sinners, and their offences ranged from such as wore long hair to such as dealt in witchcraft and sorcery"! As a plain matter of fact, during the period to which the passage refers (clearly defined in the context as extending at most from 1631 to May, 1634), the Bible was never used as a law-book, nor does either long hair or sorcery appear in the records. Partial foundations for Dr. Tyler's statements exist in New England jurisprudence at some times and places; but the careless avidity with which the writer grasps at such material, out of place, throws suspicion upon his whole picture. There is an overemphasis throughout upon the unpleasant and absurd features of New England life, and a distinct ignoring of fine features. That there was an ideal, as lofty as impracticable, back of the sacrifices and political sins of great souls like Winthrop, is hardly hinted. We have the play without Hamlet.

In strong contrast with this picture of social retrogression in New England is the rose-colored vision of political liberalism in Virginia. That colony, it is asserted (p. 116), was "essentially a democracy", and "till 1736" the House of Burgesses was "practically established on manhood suffrage". In another publication, it is true, Dr. Tyler has argued that the freehold franchise restrictions of 1670 and the following years—restrictions not mentioned at all in this treatment—were inoperative until the more specific legislation of 1736. Perhaps Dr. Andrews in the following volume ought to have paid some attention to this claim of his colleague; but at best Dr. Tyler's picture of Virginian democracy is sadly one-sided, nor is it much helped by the attempt to confirm it by a strained reference (p. 116) to Jeffersonian Republicanism at the close of the next century. That reference, however, recalls another peculiar passage (p. 144) where we are reminded that the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 fell short after all of "that broad plane of universal principle stated later in the Virginia Declaration of Rights". One hundred and twenty-seven years later! And no reference to the New Jersey Concessions, or to the quite contemporary broad plane of universal principle in Rhode Island! How are we to escape the conclusion that Dr. Tyler holds a brief?

One interesting statement in the discussion of political development in Virginia I wish to note. It is asserted (pp. 93-94, and elsewhere) that the legislature had become a bicameral body by 1629, and (p. 123) that special privileges pertained at an early time to the popular branch. This claim is novel to me, and it seems inconsistent with the printed records. Ought not Dr. Tyler to have elaborated slightly so important a matter, indicating the evidence he must have for it? The foot-notes at the close of the passage on page 94 give authority for minor statements in the paragraph, but not for this one.

The editor's introduction to Dr. Tyler's volume promises (p. xv) that "especial attention" is to be paid to "the development of popular government in Massachusetts". The reader is the more surprised, especially after the glowing account of political progress in Virginia, to find this essential phase of American history slighted to an extreme degree throughout the treatment of all New England. Indeed the brief references which are devoted to it indicate a lack of familiarity with the subject. The account (p. 199) of the oligarchic legislation of October, 1630, in Massachusetts, omits both the significant occasion and the essential fact that law-making was handed over to the assistants. This omission makes the author's comment weak, and renders obscure to the careful reader the later statement (p. 202) regarding the powerlessness of the freemen. The act of May, 1631, to make permanent the tenure of the assistants, should not be represented (p. 201) as solely in the interest of the theocracy; and, from that date to 1634, the new freemen were not admitted by the old ones (p. 202), but by the assistants. The supremely important general court of 1634 contained not two delegates from each town (p. 203), but three. The refusal to return the charter should not be credited to Dudley (p. 215). The term "court of assistants" is not proper (p. 244) for the assistants sitting in the one-chambered general court. The freemen in Connecticut attended only one of the two annual general courts (p. 258), and the bicameral system was not adopted in that colony in 1645 (p. 258); the two orders, magistrates and deputies, did begin to vote separately at that time, but they did not separate into two houses until forty years later. Two of the three statements about New England population (pp. 209, 300, 322) are reckless.

More serious than such blemishes is the spirit of the whole treatment. The famous protest by Watertown in 1632 calls out this sentence (p. 202): "The inhabitants of Watertown grumbled about paying their proportion of this tax"! Winthrop's failure of reëlection in 1634 is ascribed to the idea that he had not been "harsh enough" (p. 200), instead of to the opposite and real cause—his cavalier treatment of the rising democratic movement. That profoundly significant phase of early Massachusetts life, the incessant struggle between aristocratic and democratic sentiment, is ignored. We have implied censure (p. 203) for the delay in providing a written code; but no picture of the instructive contest for it between these two forces, and no praise for the democratic victory in it. The great democratic counter-revolution of 1634, together with all the constitutional development which followed, down through the establishment of the bicameral system in 1644, is compressed into one paragraph of eleven lines (p. 203); and one of these is spared to remind us that in the development of representative government, Massachusetts was "second in point of time only to Virginia". The unprovable statement (p. 243) that Hooker imbibed his political liberality in Holland neglects more natural causes. The explanation of the with-

drawal to Connecticut refers to the dominant democratic impulse in the slightest way, and only to confuse it with anti-theocratic sentiment. The Fundamental Orders gets perfunctory mention; but no reader would suspect the skilful adaptations of Massachusetts experience in that document, nor the remarkable and original modifications due to a progressive democracy. Only defects in the Confederation of 1643 call out particular comment (p. 300). And even in describing the New England town-meeting (p. 323), chief emphasis is given to a supposed five-hundred-dollar qualification for voting. Is Dr. Tyler bent upon securing to Virginia all credit for American democracy? The requirement of this qualification for the town franchise, by the way, in the period of this volume, seems very doubtful. The statement in the text is followed by a reference to Howard's *Local Constitutional History*; but the passage there, suggesting nothing of this kind, seems only to have furnished some of the phrases in preceding sentences of Dr. Tyler's paragraph. This annoying looseness in placing references is too general throughout the volume.

On the whole, Dr. Tyler's treatment leaves an impression of slightness. A writer with dramatic instinct could not have been betrayed into letting Pocahontas rescue Smith (provided the incident is to be accepted at all) before the narrative had even landed Smith in America. At times the usually clear style becomes slipshod. An extreme instance is the indefinite "he" on page 150, with the antecedent ten lines back, in a different paragraph, skulking behind a number of substantives which, grammatically, might fill its place. "They", on page 250, is almost as vexing, while now and again we run upon a sentence slovenly throughout, or upon a jolting paragraph. Several misprints occur, and some misquotations.

Dr. Andrews's *Colonial Self-Government*, all in all, seems the best volume in the series so far. The editor's enthusiasm (five times expressed in the four-page introduction) for his colleague's "delving" for "new material" in "unpublished records" or in "out-of-the-way sources" has real provocation; and much of the book is of great interest even to the specialist. Better still, for the purpose of the work, Dr. Andrews keeps to the historical point of view, always regarding the colonists (to use a happy phrase of Dr. Tyler's) as "an outlying portion of the English nation"; and his vision is sane and comprehensive. Forty pages go to an account, intelligent and illuminating, of the English colonial administration. This is far the best discussion of the subject outside of special treatises, if not the best anywhere. The European mercantile system receives its proper explanation; the English navigation laws get a rational statement; and that hard-working body, the Lords of Trade, is admirably described. While the great committee's lamentable inability to appreciate the democratic forces at work in America is properly emphasized, the reader is also made to feel its "eminent fairness" "towards the colonies" (p. 28), and its honest,

painstaking attention both to large questions of policy and to vexing details of administration. Throughout the volume we see the development of a colonial system which is so "in accord with the needs and interests of the English people" that it persists and grows whether the English government is administered by Oliver or Charles or William, and which in its essential features was to continue to the American Revolution. Dr. Andrews has accomplished a great task worthily. It means something not merely to scholarship but even to the comity of nations that at last we have a popular history of our colonial era, untainted by provincialism.

To treat the internal development of the many scattered colonies satisfactorily, within the brief space allotted, is a difficult task. Besides the two groups belonging to the earlier period, Dr. Andrews has also to consider New York, the Jerseys, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania. These colonies get about a third of the volume, while the old group of southern colonies and New England to 1686 receive nearly as much space. Fifteen excellent pages present the Andros régime in the north and the readjustments throughout the colonies after the English Revolution; and about fifty pages are given to a concluding survey of social and economic conditions. Much of the narrative for the new colonies is devoted inevitably to an unraveling of territorial tangles, for which probably the average reader will care little; but the political development in New York after 1664 is finely told, and the forty pages given to the short period of Pennsylvania's growth are perhaps the most fascinating in the volume. Certainly no other character is thrown into such strong relief as is the heroic figure of Penn, struggling, not unsuccessfully, with creditors, enemies, jealous kings, insubordinate agents, and ungrateful colonists, to lay broad and firm the foundations for his "Holy Experiment". This story is carried to 1696, and one feels it should have included the granting of the charter of 1701. The account of Bacon's rebellion is compressed into about one-fifth the space that Dr. Fiske gives to that episode; but the story is perfectly lucid, if it does fall somewhat short of the dramatic possibilities. The policy of uniting the northern colonies under a general governor is shown to have originated in the deliberations of the Committee for Foreign Plantations, not in the despotic inclinations of the king; and possibly Andros gets rather more than justice—"bluff, impatient, and hot-tempered", and lacking in tact, but never exceeding his legal powers, and giving to New England "a better administration than that of Maryland or Virginia" (p. 275).

Dr. Andrews is always clear and almost always forceful; but I venture to call attention to a few errors and weaknesses. The author's preface tells us (p. xvii) that "By 1650 each community had settled its government along democratic lines—that is, had put into practice the principles of manhood suffrage [and] proportional representation", etc. This from Dr. Andrews is simply astounding, and needs no other

refutation than his text. The date (p. 49) for the franchise qualification in Connecticut should be 1659, not 1657. Possibly the author was misled by some recollection of the "peaceable-and-honest-conversation" clause of the earlier year. The change in the franchise qualification in 1662 seems to have been not a reduction (p. 55), but the substitution of real for personal property, and so in reality an increase. The phrase (p. 266) that "James had other work for Kirke to do" is no doubt one of those unfortunate literary reminiscences which often play more serious havoc in historical composition. The account of the contention between the Virginia assembly and Governor Mathews (p. 206) fails to bring out the crucial fact that the burgesses actually declared the office of governor vacant before Mathews "accepted another election". Berkeley's election took place in March, not in July; and the statement (p. 206) regarding what he was "authorized" to do fails to show that he was put under positive restrictions and instructions. The Virginia franchise was limited to freeholders, not in 1669 (p. 208), but in October, 1670. The assertion (p. 215) that "since 1630 relations with the tribes along the frontiers had been peaceful" ignores the great massacre of 1644, of which Dr. Tyler has already given a full account. The statements regarding local government in Virginia before and after Bacon's rebellion are not anywhere supplemented by a clear account of the final form given to this constitutional feature. In marked contrast with the excellent chapter on economic conditions, the chapter on social and religious life is the least satisfactory in the book, neglecting, for instance, all reference to the aristocracy in New England society and to the gloom of later Puritanism. In the bibliography of the navigation acts (p. 340) Mr. Ashley's *Surveys* seems to have been put in the wrong paragraph, and in any case it deserves correct title and date.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Edited by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES A. ROBERTSON. Vol. XIX, 1620-1621. Vol. XX, 1621-1624. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1904. Pp. 319, 306.)

IN volume XIX the manuscript letter of Hernando de los Rios Coronel, for many years procurator-general of the Philippines, detailing to the king of Spain and his Council of the Indies the "reforms needed" in the islands (a manuscript derived, like the majority of those published in this series, from the Archives of the Indies at Seville), is concluded. The last half of the same volume is also given up to the first reprint in English translation of this official's *Memorial and Relation* regarding the state of affairs in the Philippines, published in Madrid in 1621. To a considerable degree the procurator-general summarizes all the various features of Philippine administration that were at the time in an unsatisfactory condition, while the other miscellaneous documents reproduced in this and the succeeding volume, some twenty in

number, present certain of these phases more in detail. New points on the history of the two preceding decades are brought out in the first part of the *Memorial*, especially as bearing upon Governor-General Silva's tenacious efforts for conquest in the Indies, using the Philippines as a foothold, and upon the abuses of the Filipinos consequent upon his ambitious plans for ship-building and the fitting out of expeditions against the Dutch and the natives of the Moluccas. In the other two parts of the *Memorial* are presented data of a more precise sort than one usually gets in Spanish documents, showing the cost of the Philippines to the Spanish treasury, and especially the burden laid upon Philippine revenues, so-called, for the conduct of expeditions in the other regions of the East Indies. All this has a very direct bearing upon the question as to whether or not the Philippines may be regarded as having been a drain upon the resources of Spain, in the early years of Spanish rule at least. The letter of the Jesuit missionary Otaço, written at Madrid in 1620, when he and other Philippine missionaries were pressing for the sending of further aid and more missionaries to the islands (against the advice of the king's council, which at the time was for the abandonment of this conquest as too costly, in view of the straits to which Spain was then reduced to maintain her prestige in Europe), calls forth from the editors a brief note on an incident which has figured picturesquely in various Philippine histories, notably that of Father Concepcion. This was the visit of Father Moraga, a Franciscan, to Spain in 1619, where in an audience with Philip III he was said to have persuaded the king against the abandonment of the Philippines, his success, we are assured, proving that the sole aim of Spain in this conquest was the salvation of souls. The *Memorial* of Los Rios Coronel presents all the various arguments then urged against this abandonment of the work of a half-century, and shows that temporal reasons, as well as spiritual, played their part. Above all, the argument that Spain could not afford to play the weakling and abandon this conquest in the face of the world has a familiar ring to students of the contemporary history of the United States.

The royal decree of 1620 ordering reforms in the treatment of the Filipinos by the friars might well be accompanied by a note giving comprehensive references to other decrees of this sort in the *Laws of the Indies*. Other volumes of the series present the significant data of this sort, however. Similarly, with Friar San Pablo's memorial of 1620 on ship-building and *repartimientos* in the Philippines—bringing out especially the hardships endured by the natives at the hands of Spanish soldiers and other laymen. The Jesuit relation of 1619-1620, continuing the two letters of this sort previously published in this series, deals more with Japan, China, and the Moluccas than with the Philippines, and is of general interest to scholars of Oriental history. Over one hundred pages of volume XIX center about the ever-active Governor-General Alonso Fajardo, and especially about the quarrels between him and the

friars and with Archbishop Serrano, who himself was to make the first downright test of the friars' claim to absolute independence of action in spiritual matters.

Volume XX, in two-thirds of its documents, deals in one way or another with these same controversies. As between Fajardo and the friars, it was a dispute over the friars' tendency to intervene in secular matters or to assume powers which would in some degree nullify secular authority. As between the archbishop and the religious orders, it was the first test of the claim of the latter to exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. This is but lightly touched upon in volume XX, for it came to a head as the period covered by this volume closed, and is ventilated in a succeeding volume. But the royal decree of 1622, herein reproduced, inferentially gave the archbishop authority to assume a more vigorous attitude in maintaining his prerogative than he did in fact assume. When he yielded, if only for a reference to Spain of the matters in controversy, there was virtually lost for all the future years of Spanish rule in the Philippines the right of the ordinary to control the appointments to benefices, though the right of episcopal visitation of the parishes, not sufficiently asserted under Serrano, and thereby postponed for over a century and a half, was afterward to be established toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Incidentally, Serrano's memorial of 1622 contains considerable valuable information regarding the state of Philippine missions at that time. The contests between the discalced members of the Franciscans and the less rigid "Observants" of the same order is also somewhat ventilated. More Jesuit letters and accounts of the tragic events connected with Fajardo's slaying of his faithless wife make up this volume, with some documents of value regarding the Spanish expeditions of 1624 into the country of the Igorrotes in Benguet. As was so generally the case in later years, they only touched the borders of the head-hunters' country, bringing back exaggerated reports of the difficulties of the undertaking, of the savagery of the people, and of the mineral prospects—the latter report, in this case, being pessimistic.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents to Illustrate English Constitutional History, 1660–1832, with a Supplement from 1832–1894.

Edited by C. GRANT ROBERTSON, M.A. (London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xviii, 452.)

ALTHOUGH of late many compendious collections of documents and source-books illustrative of English history have appeared, there is still need for fuller volumes on particular periods left untouched by the admirable works of Stubbs, Prothero, and Gardiner. In the present volume Mr. Robertson has given us forty-eight statutes or selections of statutes, thirty-two extracts from leading cases, and a group of four appendixes, dealing respectively with impeachments, taxation and sup-

ply, the Exclusion Bill, and, in the form of summaries, with important legislative enactments from 1832 to 1894. As to proportions, the collection is fullest for the period from 1660 to 1720, a division justified by the editor on the ground that the subsequent years of the eighteenth century were less fruitful in epoch-making legislation than the previous period, and that the mass of enactments beginning ten years before the Reform Bill and continuing for fifty years after lies outside the scope of his undertaking.

A number of good things can be said for the book. In the first place, one should be grateful to have so much new and valuable material presented in accessible form. Moreover, the selections appear to have been accurately reproduced, and no liberties have been taken, except to modernize spelling, to punctuate here and there, and to cut out cumbersome and confusing verbiage and repetition. Careful notes indicate when statutes have been repealed, though the system employed does not always make clear just what portions, and the note (p. 127) "virtually repealed" conveys nothing at all. Likewise the references to secondary authorities, though a bit scanty in places, are a satisfactory feature.

Nevertheless, on the whole, the book is somewhat of a disappointment. It is spread out too thin to suit the needs of intensive work. Had it stopped, for instance, at 1714, there would have been room to include selections from royal speeches and proclamations, portions of the trials of those accused of participation in the Popish and Rye House plots—so typical of seventeenth-century justice or injustice—and other contemporary matter essential to a clear understanding of the times of the later Stuarts. Moreover, various instances of carelessness and inaccuracy have to be noted. To begin with, the value of the bibliography and of many of the page references is much lessened by the failure to give the date and place of publication of the editions cited; certainly there can be no point in referring one to "*Blackstone, Commentaries, I, 414*" (p. 354). Furthermore, there are many erroneous citations: "52 Geo. IV." should be "52 Geo. III" (p. 33); Gardiner's *Documents*, 258, should be Prothero's *Statutes*, 258 (p. 39); in the reference to the Habeas Corpus Act (p. 54), Hallam, II, xii should be III, xiii, at least in the best-known English editions; the Declaration of Indulgence of Charles of 1672/3 (p. 42) is undated, and no evidence is given as to whence it was taken, though a reference at the end of the following document might imply that it came from the *Commons Journals*. As a matter of fact it is not to be found there and is probably extracted from Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, IV, 515. "C. J. IX. 5" should be X. 5, and "C. J. IX. 7, 8" should be X. 7, 8 (pp. 56, 57).

Thus far evidences of carelessness only have been noted; but other examples seem to indicate that the editor's knowledge of the general history of at least part of his period is somewhat faulty. In the explanatory note to the celebrated case of *Godden vs. Hales* (p. 245) the

defendant is described as lieutenant of the tower, whereas he was proceeded against in the spring of 1686 for holding a commission as colonel in the army, and was not made lieutenant of the tower till the spring of 1687, fully a year after this event. Still less excusable is Mr. Robertson's conjecture in his note upon the Exclusion Bill (p. 424), where he tells us that his text is made from a document found among the papers of the House of Lords and printed in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*, XI, appendix, part II, 283, pp. 195-197. He points out that it differs throughout from the version printed in Adams and Stephens's *Documents* (taken from Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, IV, 1136), and that it is probably the original text. He omits to consider that the bill in Cobbett is dated May 15, 1679, while that in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report* is dated November 15, 1680, which indicates that the former is the text of the bill introduced in the spring of 1679 and blocked by the prorogation and subsequent dissolution of Parliament, while the latter is the bill which passed the Commons in the autumn of 1680 and was defeated in the Lords. The external features of the book are most attractive.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes á la Historia de América. Volumes I, II and III. (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez. 1904. Pp. xv, 420; lxxiii, 479; 517.)

THIS collection has but recently been undertaken, and three volumes have appeared. Volume I is entitled *Relación de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el País de los Maynas*, and its author is Francisco de Figueroa, S. J., a Spanish-American who suffered martyrdom in the Maynas country in 1666. His relation or report was written in 1661, by order of his provincial, he having been fitted for that task by his extensive labors among the Indians in the Maynas country—the district about the head waters of the Amazon. The book is a typical Jesuit relation, in part a series of reports and letters edited by Figueroa. It shows much keen observation of Indian life and manners, and describes some of their superstitions and rites. It is happily written and makes enjoyable reading. Three appendixes relating to the missions of the Maynas country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries supply later desirable information. Volumes II and III are the first two instalments of Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara's *Quinquenarios* or *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544-1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias*, and this work will be completed in three more volumes. Santa Clara was a Spanish-Indian mestizo, probably illegitimate, a part of the scenes that he describes so vividly, and one feels glad to know that he was not of the priestly class. These two volumes detail very minutely the first revolt against Spanish authority in the New World, and many delightful pages are given us of plots and counter-plots between the Spanish viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, and Gonçalo Pizarro, who led the

revolt; and later, when the latter attained his ends, the plots formed against him by lesser men, who were desirous of rule. The interesting fact is brought out that the ordinances made for the colony by virtue of Las Casas's representations in Spain were the direct cause of the first insurrection. The document is admirably although somewhat diffusely written, and is highly valuable to the student of South American history.

The defects of the series are obvious. No list of the documents to be published has been sent out, so that the public knows neither the scope nor the extent of the volumes to be issued; a recent prospectus announces that there are now in preparation Alonso de Çorita's hitherto unpublished *Relación de las cosas notables de la Nueva España*; the rare *Comentarios de lo acaecido en las jornadas que hizo á las Indias*, together with unpublished documents; and various historical-geographical relations concerning Central America. A personal letter from Señor Graiño, of the publishing house, states that he intends to publish three or four volumes each year, and that the collection will contain the "most important and unpublished documents" that come to his notice, concerning either North or South America, provided that authors and originals are Spanish. One already selected is the unpublished *Historia de la conquista, pérdida y restauración del reino y provincias de la Nueva México* by Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor.

There is no general editor and hence no general introduction, a most serious lack. The volumes are not published chronologically. Annotation is deplorably weak, being limited to bibliographical notes in the several introductions, and to notes showing erasures in the original manuscript, and corrections made by the immediate editor. A few good maps and plans, of which the Spanish archives contain many in manuscript, would help the series out wonderfully, but the illustrations appear to be limited to those contained in the original document. A slightly greater outlay by the publishers would greatly enhance the value of the series, and would justify a higher price per volume. The bibliographical notes are valuable, and the introduction accompanying each volume or work is useful. It has been suggested to the publishers that a number of documents on Louisiana, Florida, and Cuba would be welcomed in the United States.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Die amerikanische Revolution, 1775-1783. Entwicklungsgeschichte der Grundlagen zum Freistaat wie zum Weltreich unter Hervorhebung des deutschen Anteils. Für das deutsche und amerikanische Volk geschrieben von ALBERT PFISTER. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1904. Pp. x, 400; vi, 429.)

THE author of this new history of the American Revolution betrays a rather haphazard knowledge of the bibliography of his subject, but on the whole has written a book so full of suggestion and new points of

view for the student that it would be captious to attack the book from its weak side. He begins his treatment with the origin and emigration of the Puritans. Though he grows sentimental occasionally, and writes in an exalted, rhetorical style, yet the resulting impression is not as a rule untrue. He traces the gradual expansion of the Massachusetts colony, the founding of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, and watches constantly for the influences that tend to make them freedom-loving and independent. He then passes to the founding of Virginia and the "feudal state" of Carolina. From the characteristics of the South, the author goes to the subject of the middle colonies, his real interest. After discussing the struggle between the Netherlands, Sweden, and England for possession, he treats at some length the coming of the Swabians and Palatines, and the several German settlements in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Here he calls attention for the first time to the subject which is emphasized throughout the two volumes—the influence of the Germans upon America and the American Revolution. Though the conventional story of the war is told with far too much emphasis upon the details of battles, yet the theme upon which the author lingers with fondness and some exaggeration is the "deutscher Anteil". The superiority of the character of the middle states is too strongly asserted (I, 95-96). After telling of the struggle with France for the possession of North America, Herr Pfister devotes about fifty pages to a view of the economic and spiritual conditions in America just before the great struggle with England. Following this first period is a valuable chapter treating of the European conditions at the outbreak of the quarrel with England. The Netherlands, Spain, Austria, the German Empire, Prussia, and France are discussed with reference to the attitude that they are likely to take toward the coming struggle. The new point of view gives especial value to this chapter. From this on the treatment of the Revolution is very conventional except for the emphasis placed upon such subjects as the proportion of Germans who took the patriot side (I, 268-272). On the basis of several pamphlets written by Germans urging their fellow-countrymen to embrace the patriot cause, the author concludes that they were, as a rule, active patriots. The preponderance of evidence seems to me to show that the Germans of eastern Pennsylvania were very slow to embrace the patriot cause—or any other. They wanted to be let alone to till their farms. C. H. Lincoln in his *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania*, which Herr Pfister does not seem to know, gives the truer view. Again, the author gives eleven pages (I, 298-309) to the German mercenaries. An amusing evidence of the intense German spirit of the writer is seen (I, 390) where the Declaration of Independence is discussed. Klopstock greeted it as the dawning of a new day. Herder hoped that republican America was called to create a new civilization. Kant, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller were all delighted. In Germany, says Herr Pfister, all was pure enthusiasm, sheer joy, but in

France it was merely a greed for revenge! Frederick the Great is also represented as the friend of and sympathizer with America, in spite of much evidence to the contrary. The most interesting and valuable parts of this work are those which discuss subjects of German interest, but the limits of this review permit only a bare list of such subjects, and such a list is worth while because it is for these things that the book is worth consultation. Steuben's work and the German element in the army at Valley Forge are given fifteen pages. On page 158 of the second volume there is a curious and rather strained comparison of America in 1778 and Germany in 1815. The "hotter and swifter flowing colonial blood" is supposed to account for the fact that America in ten years succeeded in attaining a national constitution, while Germany delayed until 1871. This instance illustrates the author's peculiar tendency to philosophical generalizations of a fanciful nature. When the French begin to take active part in the struggle, Herr Pfister again takes occasion to draw attention to the "deutscher Anteil", and Lafayette's services are compared with Steuben's (II, 353). Some interesting views of Frederick the Great are given (II, 160-168). After the story of the American Revolution is completed, the author continues the history through the making of the Federal Constitution. He then sketches the expansion of the United States, and the influence of German migration—all in a rather eulogistic strain. He sees in the German struggle for unity an imitation of the American struggle, and he never misses throughout the book an opportunity to use American history to point a moral for the German people. On the whole, it is a curious book, well worth writing, even if peculiar in its workmanship. It ought to give German readers a kindly and not untrue impression of the American Revolution.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826. Printed under the auspices of the New Brunswick Historical Society. Edited by Rev. WILLIAM O. RAYMOND, M.A. (St. John, N. B.: The Sun Printing Company, Ltd. 1901. Pp. 732.)

THESE are the papers of Judge Edward Winslow, of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, who was a lineal descendant of Governor Edward Winslow of Plymouth colony. After his graduation from Harvard in 1765, he was associated with his father, an important office-holder of Plymouth, and he espoused the cause of the crown when the Revolution began. Gage appointed him to the offices of collector of the port of Boston and registrar of probate for Suffolk county, which he held until the evacuation, when he retired to Halifax, taking with him all the records; these, however, were returned after the peace. He was active during the war, and subsequently held many important posts for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He died in 1815.

The publication of this collection is due to the generous coöperation of Francis E. Winslow, of Chatham, New Brunswick, and the New

Brunswick Historical Society. The volume was printed and ready in 1901, but owing to an unavoidable concurrence of circumstances its publication was delayed until December, 1904. It is by far the most important single historical collection relating to the maritime provinces that has hitherto been issued. The editor brought to the work an unmatched knowledge of the men and events in New Brunswick for the period covered by these papers, he holding an undisputed first place there as specialist for many years of American loyalist history. The volume teems with annotations by him, which elucidate the text.

The papers presented are a selection out of a "mass of materials of varying degrees of interest and importance to be found in the original collection", in the keeping of Francis E. Winslow, together with letters and documents possessed by other members of the family and some chosen from the Chipman papers, another unpublished mass of important papers to which the editor had free access. Only a few of them appeared in print before, as, for example, those to be found in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, 1886-1887, III, 64-94. Altogether the volume contains "about six hundred and fifty letters and documents written by about one hundred and seventy different persons and covering a period of nearly fifty years". About one hundred and fifty of Edward Winslow's letters are presented, mostly from rough drafts. The whole material is arranged in chronological order, from January 10, 1776, to January 11, 1826, and is made available by a copious index of over thirty-two closely-printed columns.

One of the points of value in the book is the perfect clearness with which it lays bare the origin of the province of New Brunswick—why it was set off from Nova Scotia in 1784, a subject hitherto obscure. It was largely due to the insufficiency of the officials at Halifax, who were quite unable to cope with the difficulties of settling the loyalists in New Brunswick, on account of the slowness of communication and the desire of the English government to form a new government in which offices could be provided for some of the loyalists who were well fitted for the places. The value of the papers for local history is immense, upon all kinds of matters connected with the province, and this is enhanced by the continuity of the material. It is discernible that Winslow was a chief adviser of Governor Carleton, and that Carleton was a devoted governor, but possessed of only moderate capacity. New light is particularly shed on the province's history from 1800 to 1812. Sixteen plates of portraits, views, and autographs accompany the text.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The United States of America. By EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, Ph.D.
(New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. xi, 425; viii, 385.)

THESE volumes are not intended as a consecutive history of the United States. They are a series of studies in an interpretation of that

history in its consecutive phases. The obvious purpose of the author is to bring out the principal influences and movements in the development of a centralized national life from the original decentralized colonies—from the formation of a loose league, in 1781 and 1787, to the present time. The volumes, without references or citations to authorities, are meant for the general reader rather than for the student. The specialist will find nothing new, except by way of suggestion or arrangement; but to the lay reader Professor Sparks's pages will be found very entertaining and suggestive, provided the reader already has a good basis for his reading in a knowledge of the facts.

The first volume opens with "A Union in Form Only", in 1781, "The Problems of the Back Lands", and the "Failure of the Confederacy", and closes, in 1828, with chapters on "Sectional Discord over Territory", "Announcement of National Individuality", and "Full Fruits of Americanism". Professor Sparks's analysis of his subject and his method of treatment enable him to touch briefly, with mere suggestion, a wide variety of topics in a single chapter. Under the last two chapter-headings, for instance, he brings within the reader's view the cultivation of republican simplicity; opposition to royal forms; separation of church and state; jealousy of European monarchy; American separateness; the nationalism of the Monroe doctrine; literary dependence; philanthropic enterprises; domestic public policies—the bank, tariff, and internal improvements; radical and wide-spread religious movements; the influence of the judiciary on unification and of Marshall's more notable decisions in this direction; the influence of the West; land grants for education; canals and roads and their unifying influence; and other topics that have not fallen logically under the subjects of other chapters. While he gives the history of none of these, he points briefly to the historical significance of all.

The decentralizing influences of the early days are also pointed out. State control of suffrage, and the control by the states of the method of choosing presidential electors; the states as centers of political power and interest; the natural tendencies toward strict construction in spite of the subsequent impossibility of its application; difficulties in interstate communication—in the treatment of these and similar topics the author seeks to present his subject from the viewpoint of the internal life of the states, as well as from that of the central government.

The second volume opens with a comparison of the country in 1829 with what it was in 1789, socially, politically, industrially, and intellectually. Under "Union Profit-Sharing" and "Paternalism in the Middle Period" the author brings into view educational aids from government, road-building, land grants and easy land sales, canals, surplus revenue, and other topics; and he points out how popular interests and demands were breaking the bonds of strict construction. He leads up to the final "Passing of Strict Construction" by the failure of "Secession as a Remedy" and the coercion of the states by the

Union, through a brief consideration of "Abolition", "The Whigs and Nationalism", "War and Territorial Extension", "Saving the Union by Compromise", "The Compromise Annulled by Reformers", and the final struggle for "Federal Control over Territories". Only one brief chapter of twenty-four pages is given to the period of the Civil War, and none of that to battle history. Reconstruction, industrial development since the war, and the present aspect of the republic close the series of studies.

The method of historical treatment presented by these volumes has its objections and difficulties. The facts and the order of facts may be too much taken for granted; and it is difficult to guard a generalization on all sides against misapprehensions and objections. While most students of American history would not dissent in many instances from Professor Sparks's interpretation of our national development, it is easy to see how controversial criticism might arise on every chapter. With the facts of our history used only as a text for comment rather than as a subject for a historical narrative, what is presented becomes very largely a matter of conflicting views and of cleverness and pointedness in expression. The author is apt to be criticized for his omissions, as in the case of Professor Sparks's work for its subordination, not to say omission, of all war history, or for its inadequate consideration of the history of parties in their causes and beginnings. We find no mention, for instance, of the early Free-soil movement, to which such great importance attaches in the early politics of the antislavery movement.

Professor Sparks's illustrations are valuable, especially in political caricature and cartoon. His judgments are acceptable; he shows discrimination in the selection of materials, a fine art in presentation, a vivacious style; and his pertinent and sometimes curious extracts from the sources vitalize his pages and give valuable glimpses of the real life of the past. He has achieved a worthy success in a difficult task.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

From the Monarchy to the Republic in France, 1788-1792. By SOPHIA H. MACLEHOSE. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons. 1904. Pp. xv, 447.)

If it be remembered how much has been written upon the French Revolution, it is matter of surprise that there exist few works of moderate dimensions to which the general reader may be sent for an adequate account of the subject. Between the brief manuals suited to use as text-books and the histories in several volumes there is plenty of room for books like this, which aims to give "such a resumé of events as may interest the reader, and send him to the great histories for fuller information" (p. vi). But "resumé" is too modest a description for the book. So far as its scope permits, it is a developed narrative, based not merely upon what others have written, but also upon material collected by the author in the British Museum, the French National

Archives, from official records, memoirs, private letters, and journals. Consequently it has an interest apart from its function as a résumé. In this respect it is like the author's former volume, *The Last Days of the French Monarchy* (1901).

The title suggests the somewhat restricted field which is covered. It is the political conflict, the downfall of the monarchy, rather than social and administrative reconstruction, which is the theme. Attention is concentrated upon events at Versailles and at Paris, with few allusions to the affairs of the provinces. This keeps the narrative on the beaten track, but Miss MacLehose has avoided the risk of telling merely the familiar story. From her wide reading she has drawn many incidents which give a touch of newness to the course of events the general features of which are well known.

In a work upon a theme so distinctly political the legislation of the early Revolution necessarily holds a subordinate place. There is danger lest the allusions to it, from brevity if for no other reason, leave a wrong impression. For example, the page on the work of August 4 may lead one to imagine that the feudal system, with everything akin to it, was effectively abolished. Not a word is said of the task which engaged eminent lawyers like Merlin of Douai and Tronchet, members of the "feudal committee", four months, nor of its result, the law of March, 1790, which embodied a principle radically different from that announced in the decrees of August 4-11. It was the contrast between the August programme and the legislation which essayed to carry it out which angered the peasants and alienated them from the bourgeois leaders of the Constituent Assembly. The omission of reference to this subsequent work makes sentences like the following somewhat misleading: "In one night privilege, which for hundreds of years had lain at the root of French politics and French society, was destroyed" (p. 163), and "So died privilege, before the making of the Constitution was yet begun" (p. 164). The same fault may be found with the paragraphs on the assignats because they ignore the legislation of April, 1790, attaching the issue simply to the decree of December 19, 1789. Furthermore, the details (note 3, page 235) in regard to denominations and rate of interest are inexact.

The action of the Constituent Assembly on the question of dividing the future legislature into two chambers would have been made more intelligible had the author connected the discussion of this problem with the discussion of the veto. In the debates the two were never separated. Several of the more aggressive members of the Assembly declared that the royal veto would operate as a sufficient check to the tendency to hasty legislation. To those who urged American precedent they replied that there was no comparison between the royal veto and the veto of an American governor or even of a federal president. The veto which they did concede was an effective check wherever the king dared to use it, as the history of the Legislative Assembly proves.

Unfortunately the circumstances were such that its use in the cause of the émigrés and the non-juring priests was an act of political suicide.

In her use of her material the author occasionally reaches results which are questionable. Speaking of the tumultuous action of the crowd gathered at the Hôtel de Ville on the morning of July 13, 1789, she regards it as a revival of the ancient assemblies of the inhabitants of the commune. This is rather fanciful, and certainly contrary to the implications of the *procès-verbal* from which she quotes. The electors made repeated efforts to send the citizens to their several districts, because their presence at the Hôtel de Ville caused endless confusion. Again, the surprising statement is made that there were at this time in Paris "five hundred thousand commons". If "commons" means men, this is erroneous, for there were only about 680,000 inhabitants. One is puzzled also to discover why in describing the action of the districts on July 13 she has selected as the typical case the meeting of the "Parish" of Saint-Germain-le-Vieil, which was not a district, and which is interesting as an instance of one of the efforts to organize as parishes rather than as districts.

With the exception of the treatment of a few subjects like these, the work is a satisfactory account of the period, pervaded by a sympathetic spirit and showing a desire to describe both incidents and men impartially. The interest of the pages is enhanced by the insertion of several contemporaneous broadsides or cartoons, reproduced from collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale or the British Museum.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

SOME RECENT WORKS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is probably true that a larger number of historical works of a high order of merit are put forth each year upon the period of the French Revolution than upon any other equally limited period of European history. The mass of the work is naturally done by French writers, who justly attribute to the great upheaval a preponderant influence in shaping the life of modern France, but not a little of value is being produced by the historians of other countries. The quantity of the output increases each year; and the quality, thanks to the influence of scholars like Aulard and to organizations like the Société de la révolution française, is steadily improving. The plans, now being executed, to study the local history of the Revolution throughout France, combined with the action of the French government in appropriating funds to publish the sources of the economic history of the Revolution, will undoubtedly increase to a remarkable degree the amount of valuable monograph work on the Revolution and hasten the day when a comprehensive and reliable history of the whole movement can be written.

In this rapid review of the publications of the past two years some works will be omitted that have already been considered in the REVIEW. No reference will be made to second editions of some important

works, and even the recent volumes of the source publications by Aulard and others, valuable as they are, must be omitted. For the most part, I shall deal with constructive work alone.

The growing literature upon the history and significance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man has been enriched by three monographs, one by an Italian jurist. In a study on *Montesquieu et J.-J. Rousseau* (Paris, Chevalier-Marescq, 1903, pp. 85), J. Tchernoff notes that the old tendency to oppose Rousseau to Montesquieu is yielding to a tendency to "attach the *Esprit des Lois* and the *Contrat Social* to the same current of ideas, almost to confound the political work of Montesquieu with that of J.-J. Rousseau. It even goes so far as to affirm that Montesquieu is, in certain respects, more of an *étatiste*, more democratic than J.-J. Rousseau, and that the latter, in many passages of his writings, shows himself more conservative than the former." M. Tchernoff treats of the differences between the two writers, due to their methods of research, and of the resemblances in the construction of their theory. He demonstrates that they both made use of elements drawn from the political philosophy of the sixteenth century, and that both reflected the dominant tendencies of the period to which they belonged. He traces the influence of the writings of La Boétie, Bodin, and Hubert Languet upon the political writers of the eighteenth century, and maintains that contemporaries of Rousseau and Montesquieu naturally made this connection between their theories and the theories of the past and saw their relation "to the common fund of ideas existing previous to the Revolution". The bearing of all this upon the discussion of the historical evolution of the French declaration is evident. "The notion of sacred and imprescriptible rights had been affirmed so often since the time of Hubert Languet and Étienne de la Boétie that it very naturally reappeared in the eighteenth century." "Without doubt, the example of the individual states of the United States confirmed the current of ideas that existed, but it did not create it, did not alone contribute to its external form."

La Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen et l'Assemblée Constituante, by Émile Walch (Paris, Joue, 1903, pp. 240), is the first satisfactory account of the debates in the National Assembly on the Declaration of Rights that has been written. The sources utilized for the study are the best possible, the *Procès-verbaux*, the newspapers, the *Courrier de Provence*, the *Point du Jour*, the *Journal des États généraux* of Le Hodey, and the originals of some fifteen projects of declarations. M. Walch has produced a well-balanced monograph that fills a real gap in the literature of the Revolution. In an appendix he examines the influence of the American declarations of rights on the French declaration. His conclusion is that a considerable influence must be attributed to the declaration of Virginia (1776).

The third of these studies, *La Dichiarazione dei Diritti dell'Uomo e del Cittadino nella Rivoluzione Francese*, by Dr. Giorgio del Vecchio

(Genoa, Gioventù, 1903, pp. 93), although printed separately, was conceived as a part of a larger work, soon to be published, that will treat more in detail the historical precedents of the French declaration. The study is a philosophical one, beginning with an examination of the connection between the Declaration of Rights and the French Revolution, in which the writer makes clear that the violent character of the outbreak was due to historic conditions and not to the metaphysical character of the declaration. The second and third chapters deal with the historical and philosophical presuppositions of the declaration and the various forms of the Declaration of Rights in the successive moments of the Revolution. The fourth chapter traces the history of the criticism of the declaration from Burke to the present time and shows a familiarity with the most important works upon the subject in English, French, German, and Italian. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is the last, in which Dr. Giorgio treats of the positive efficacy of the Declaration of Rights and its significance in the modern state. The hostility of critics has not interfered with the historical efficacy of the declaration; its ideas have penetrated profoundly the judicial conscience of all modern civilized peoples. If these principles have to-day become commonplaces, it is nevertheless true that it was due to their adoption that the *Stato di diritto* has taken the place of the arbitrary and policed state.

Two volumes upon the religious history of the Revolution, one by M. A. Aulard, *La Révolution Française et les Congrégations* (Paris, Cornély, 1903, pp. 327), the other by M. Edme Champion, *La Séparation de l'Église et de l'État en 1794* (Paris, Colin, 1903, pp. xiii, 282), were probably—the first one certainly—called forth by recent political events in France, but this fact in no way lessens their scientific value. M. Aulard publishes the texts of the decrees abolishing the congregations, reconstructs, from the *Procès-verbaux* and the most reliable contemporary newspapers, the debates upon the orders, and prefixes to the collection an excellent introduction of forty-three pages in which he traces the history illustrated by his sources. The book will prove to be a most helpful one to students who do not have access to such newspapers as *Le Journal* of Le Hodey, the *Chronique de Paris*, the *Point du Jour*, the *Procès-verbaux*, and the rare pamphlets of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is a model of what such books should be. M. Champion calls his volume “an introduction to the religious history of the Revolution”, “une course très rapide et très courte, à travers un sujet immense”. Beginning with chapters on “The National Religion” and “Gallicanism”, he traces rapidly, in a series of luminous chapters, the relations between church and state during the Revolution to the passage of the decree of September 18, 1794, that formally declared the separation of the two. Although the book is only an introduction, “une vue à vol d'oiseau”, M. Champion knows his sources and keeps in close touch with them. To such an extent is this true that he frequently

presents old problems in a new light, so that even the specialist on the religious history of the Revolution may derive some benefit from a reading of his excellent sketch.

Five years ago (1900), M. Paul Ardascheff published a volume in Russian upon *Les Intendants de Province sous Louis XVI*. It was so favorably received that he decided to publish the second volume of the work in French and translate the first volume into the same language, thus making them generally accessible to historians. Neither of these volumes has yet appeared, but M. Ardascheff published last year a third volume in French, composed of *pièces justificatives* (Dorpat, Mattiesen, 1904, pp. xi, 554), evidently the material upon which his first volume was based. In other words, it is a source-book on the intendant on the eve of the Revolution. The sources are both manuscript and printed. The former are drawn chiefly from the Archives Nationales and the Archives Départementales de la Marne; the latter from volumes new and old, some of them easily accessible. There are clearly two ways in which this volume may be approached, with a feeling of gratitude or with a feeling of wonder. One ought to feel grateful for a book of this kind, and a person that knows how to study documents will find it of inestimable value; but as the appendix to a work of erudition why, we wonder, has the author reprinted page after page from such easily accessible works as the *Archives Parlementaires*, the *mémoires* of Argenson, Bertrand de Moleville, Besenval, Bouillé, Bailly, and a dozen others, together with documents reproduced from works printed in the last ten or fifteen years? From the point of view of a final study on the intendant, the book for which this volume supplies the proof would certainly be open to severe criticism; in the mind of the reader of this evidence too many questions arise that cannot be answered by the evidence that M. Ardascheff has given us, but could be answered by a more thorough examination of the archives. In his rapid transit, as he describes it, through the archives of southern France, it is doubtful whether he could have done justice to their contents. It is hardly fair, however, to pass judgment upon a book that one has not seen, and for my own part I am very much inclined to subordinate the attitude of wonder to that of gratitude in approaching this interesting and valuable collection of sources.

Les Débuts de la Révolution dans les Départements du Cher et de l'Indre (1789-1791), by M. Marcel Bruneau, has already been reviewed (IX, 165-166). It is a model of what a local history should be, local history in the setting furnished by the larger revolution. Here is a volume that fills one with respect and admiration for modern French historical scholarship. The bibliography of thirty-eight closely printed pages, devoted largely to the enumeration of the manuscript material contained in national, departmental, and local archives is proof that M. Bruneau has exhausted his sources in the preparation of his work. A sober, scholarly narrative that follows the evidence and avoids no

inferences, even when unfavorable to the revolutionary movement, opens with the elections for the States-General and closes with an exhaustive chapter on the civil constitution of the clergy.

Condorcet has waited long for a biographer, but as if to repay for this seeming neglect two excellent lives appear at almost the same time, the first by M. Franck Alengry, *Condorcet, Guide de la Révolution Française, Théoricien du Droit Constitutionnel et Précurseur de la Science Sociale* (Paris, Giard et Brière, 1904 [1903], pp. xxiii, 896), the second by M. Léon Cahen, *Condorcet et la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1904, pp. xxxi, 593). As a history, the volume of M. Cahen is the better piece of work, but it is far from rendering the work of M. Alengry antiquated. The writers conceive their tasks in different fashions. M. Alengry, treating Condorcet as "guide of the Revolution", divides his stout volume into two parts. In the first a brief account of the writings of Condorcet is given in a chronological order, accompanied by an enumeration of only the most indispensable historical facts; in the second and larger part the ideas of Condorcet are presented, grouped in logical order under the heads, "Condorcet Théoricien du Droit Constitutionnel ou Étude raisonnée des Principales Théories Constitutionnelles de Condorcet", "Condorcet, Précurseur de la Science Sociale, ou l'Économie Politique, la Morale et la Sociologie chez Condorcet", and "Originalité et Influence de Condorcet". It is this second part that is the most valuable portion of the work of M. Alengry. He has read nearly everything that Condorcet wrote and has grouped his material skilfully. A very full table of contents increases the usefulness of the book.

The volume of M. Cahen is of a different order and higher rank. Documentation, criticism of the sources, and construction offer little opportunity for adverse criticism. In his search for manuscript material he not only examined the public and private collections in Paris and the provinces, but even extended his investigations to Geneva and Berne. In the printed sources he makes excellent use of a long list of contemporary newspapers, together with official documents, pamphlets, and *mémoires*. He has evidently utilized the best of the secondary works touching his subject. The narrative is not only a satisfactory account of the rôle of Condorcet in the Revolution, but even casts light upon many important events that had not hitherto been satisfactorily treated, as for example the attitude of the Legislative Assembly toward the king during the summer of 1792. M. Cahen has also introduced in their proper places studies upon the political theories of Condorcet and his ideas upon public education.

The life of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, by Ferdinand-Dreyfus, has already been reviewed in the REVIEW (X, 411-412). It may not, however, be out of place to call attention to the thoroughgoing research that forms the basis of the work and has furnished us with a volume that does not fall into the class of ordinary biographies, but is

likely to be the standard work upon this interesting Revolutionary character for years to come. Just as the work of M. Cahen will prove valuable to students of education in France during the Revolution, so the life of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt will furnish material to the sociologist and the student of charities. Notice should also be taken of the *Correspondance Inédite de La Fayette, 1793-1801, Lettres de Prison, Lettres d'Exil, Précédée d'une Étude Psychologique* (Paris, Delagrave, [1903], pp. 389), by M. Jules Thomas, which contains fifty-six letters, some forty of which are published for the first time; the others have been either incorrectly or incompletely published. The letters are introduced by a "psychological study" of a hundred pages. It is suggestive and interesting, although the general opinion will probably be that it contains more psychology than history.

The larger part of the fourth series of *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, Alcan, 1904, pp. 317), by M. Alphonse Aulard, is devoted to Danton. Although these studies, beginning with the "Jeunesse de Danton", combined with studies previously published by M. Aulard, would form a fairly complete and continuous biography, the writer makes no such claim for them. His purpose is twofold: to submit the published evidence upon Danton to a searching criticism, "dissipating the loyal benevolent legend" that has formed about him, and to make public additional evidence that M. Aulard has encountered in the course of his investigations. Many of the pleasing anecdotes concerning Danton's childhood, products of a subconscious imagination, turn out to be fables; the importance of the rôle that he played in the Revolution previous to August 10 is shown to be far less than his biographers have claimed. The real character of the rôle is rendered clearer by fresh evidence carefully combined but with no effort to elicit more information than it was capable of supplying. Danton suffers little by this stripping process; he remains one of the most attractive characters of the Revolution.

Four important contributions have been made to our knowledge of the life of Mirabeau. M. Paul Cottin has published two volumes of the letters of Sophie de Monnier to Mirabeau¹ and prefixed to one of these a study upon "Sophie de Monnier et Mirabeau" that is probably final work for that important episode in Mirabeau's life. The correspondence upon which the monograph was based was partly in cipher, the key to which was discovered by M. le commandant Bazeris. The cipher, the key, and a facsimile page of one of the letters form a part of the documentary material of the volume, together with a portrait of Madame de Monnier and a photograph of a bust of Mirabeau, both made public for the first time. The bust of Mirabeau, a very excellent

¹ *Sophie de Monnier et Mirabeau, d'après leur Correspondance Secrète Inédite (1775-1789)*. Par Paul Cottin. (Paris: Plon. 1903. Pp. cclx, 287); *Lettres inédites de Sophie de Monnier à Mirabeau (1775-1781)*. Publiées par M. Paul Cottin. (Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Nouvelle Revue Rétrospective. 1903. Pp. 351.)

one, represents him at about the age of thirty. The second volume of letters contains another portrait of Sophie de Monnier, taken at the age of twenty. These two volumes of letters form a necessary supplement to the letters of Mirabeau to Sophie, published in 1792 with the title *Lettres originales de Mirabeau*. Written for Mirabeau alone, they give us an insight into the real character of Sophie de Monnier—an insight better than we can get into the sentiments of Mirabeau from his letters, which were written with the knowledge that they would be read by the police. Sophie de Monnier does not lose nor does Mirabeau gain anything by this fresh light thrown upon their relations. It results from the work of M. Cottin, supported by a study of the portraits, that the attachment of Madame de Monnier was something more than an ordinary liaison, that she was devoted to him heart and soul, and that Mirabeau finally abandoned her without cause. Of her infidelity there is not a particle of truth. Mirabeau's influence upon Sophie de Monnier was both good and bad. She possessed a keen, active mind, which responded quickly to the constant impulses to thought received from Mirabeau: on the other hand, her life with Mirabeau ruined what little religious belief she may have had and developed the lower side of her nature. The responsibility of Mirabeau in inducing her to prepare a circumstantial account of their amours is clearly established. Whatever her faults may have been, Sophie de Monnier was much sinned against.

The *Lettres à Julie*,¹ published by M. Dauphin Meunier in collaboration with M. Georges Leloir, is a combination of sources and narrative. These letters, written from Vincennes to a woman whom he had never seen and finally ending in a love-affair, constitute some of the most remarkable evidence upon the life and character of this extraordinary man. The brilliantly written chapters, in which M. Meunier endeavors to clear up the mystery that Mirabeau threw around his relations with Madame de Lamballe, and to give the historical setting to the correspondence, make a definite contribution to the understanding of the character of Mirabeau. The "Épilogue" contains in half a dozen pages one of the keenest, fairest, and most sympathetic sketches of Mirabeau's character that I have ever read. The second appendix, or "Dictionnaire alphabétique des noms propres", of more than one hundred pages in double columns, is one of the most valuable parts of the volume. It represents a large amount of painstaking research and will form an indispensable aid to the student of Mirabeau's life.

The fourth volume of the Mirabeau group, *Mirabeaus geheime diplomatische Sendung nach Berlin* (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1901, pp. viii, 202), by Dr. Erich Wild, appeared in 1901, but has not received the attention that it deserves. A volume by Henri Welschinger upon the

¹ *Lettres à Julie, Écrites du Donjon de Vincennes par Mirabeau*. Publiées et Commentées d'après les Manuscrits Originaux et Inédits par Dauphin Meunier avec la Collaboration de Georges Leloir. (Paris: Plon. 1903. Pp. iii, 467.)

same subject (Paris, 1900) was reviewed at some length in this REVIEW (VI, 235-253); Wild's monograph not only corrects the work of Welschinger, but renders it antiquated and proves its unreliability. The comment of Wild (p. 197) that "Diese gesammte Textpublication Welschingers"—supposed to be the original text of the *Histoire secrète*—"ist nun völlig unbrauchbar und in so unglaublicher Weise angefertigt, dass Welschinger nicht gewusst haben muss, worauf es bei seiner Aufgabe ankam, da Oberflächlichkeit und Unaufmerksamkeit bei der Arbeit allein nicht erklären, warum das Originalmanuskript so sehr selten und auch dann nur unexact benutzt wurde", is literally true, and not the carping criticism of one who is preparing the same text for publication. But a small part of Dr. Wild's volume—six pages in an "Excurs"—is devoted to the criticism of the publication of Welschinger; the major part (144 pages) deals with the origin of the mission to Berlin, the original letters written by Mirabeau, the rewriting by Talleyrand, the publication of the letters by Mirabeau, and the different editions. It is a most satisfactory piece of work, displaying unusual critical skill and powers of combination. The most noteworthy part of the book is chapter v, in which Dr. Wild by a comparison of the manuscript with the published text settles forever the question of Mirabeau's responsibility in the matter of publication. The outcome of the matter is summed up in this sentence: "Das Manuskript war aber, wie wir sahen, von Mirabeau selbst in der Absicht der Herausgabe verändert und dazu vorbereitet worden." The assumption of Dr. Wild that Mirabeau made but one copy of his correspondence from Berlin, an assumption that he made use of in discussing the question as to whether Mirabeau attempted to sell the correspondence to Montmorin, is incorrect. I found in the Arsenal Library last summer a second incomplete copy, which at one time must have been complete, judging from the promise to send the rest that is upon one of the sheets.

There are one or two general observations that I feel impelled to make in concluding this summary review. The first is that none of these volumes is the work of a dilettante, a mere literary exercise, but the result of serious research and critical study of all the documents. It is by such work alone that history can hope to establish its claim to be looked upon as a science. The second observation concerns the predominance of the purely scientific point of view that characterizes this work, the spirit of detachment, so difficult to attain in dealing with things human. Naturally the ideal has not been reached, but one feels that a wonderful advance has been made by Frenchmen, in the past thirty years, toward this ideal, even when dealing with the living question of the Revolution. Last of all, the superior quality of the work and the unusual quantity that is being done on this period of French history, taken in connection with what French historians are doing on other periods of the world's history, naturally leads us to inquire whether France is not recovering in these matters the primacy that she lost a hundred years ago.

FRED MORROW FLING.

History of the Library of Congress. By WILLIAM DAWSON JOHNSTON. Volume I, 1800-1864. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1904. Pp. 535.)

THE half-title of Mr. Johnston's *History* indicates that it is intended as a "contribution" to American library history rather than as a narrative history, and the letter of transmittal shows that other such contributions have been undertaken by librarians in various states for other libraries. The work is to be judged, therefore, as setting the pace for a series, as well as in itself, and as committed to that method which the scientific world has come to associate with the word contribution. It is, in fact, scientific, scholarly, abounding in documents, quotations, relevant details, and statistics, and this first volume is exhaustive to the point of more than 500 pages, exclusive of 25 facsimiles and other plates for the period ending 1864.

It may be added that the treatment of Mr. Johnston is painstaking and well judged. About 60 per cent. of the letterpress being fine-print quotation of documents and the like, while a large fraction of the remainder consists of other quotation of one sort and another, the strictly narrative portion of the work is relatively small and somewhat discontinuous; moreover the contribution does not lend itself well to those graces of style appropriate to the popular history as a form of polite literature, but Mr. Johnston's diction is on the whole adequate, albeit the style of this narrative portion might probably have borne a trifle more moistening without suffering the reproach of too much exuberance.

The work is of chief importance for technical library history, but it is, in very unusual degree for such a work, valuable for its side-lights on American political history and biography. Its contribution to the history of manners is, in spite of some good touches, perhaps not so great as might have been expected or as would be likely to be the case in the history of some Boston, New York, or Philadelphia library; but by the nature of its subject-matter it is close to politics, and the painstaking and elaborate way in which the whole history of legislation regarding it is brought out makes it a suggestive chapter in the history of Congress. The chapters on Librarian Watterston and his removal are a most suggestive contribution to the history of partizan politics and of the spoils system. The relations of Gerry, Clay, Everett, Choate, and various other members of Congress with the Library, and notably the matters connected with Jefferson and the purchase of his library, are also matters of more than technical interest.

In its primary aspect as a contribution to technical library history the work is of peculiar value in the attention that it gives to the history of administration, classification, cataloguing, and the like. In this it shows a remarkably well conceived plan and certainly a result of uncommon suggestiveness. It is distinctly a history of origins, ending as it does in 1864 with the appointment of Mr. Spofford, at which time the

Library was less than one-tenth of its present size, but it is excellent history in its foreshadowings. In its account of the growing demand for a library which should be national indeed, of the far-sighted, but for a long time unaccomplished, cataloguing plans of Jewett and of the still more far-sighted and ever valid principles of Jefferson as to the composition and the classification of a library, we see the real historical roots of the present Library of Congress and even have grounds on which to forecast its future development. The sections relating to Jefferson and to Jewett are, either of them, sufficient in themselves to give real distinction to the work in its technical aspect.

E. C. RICHARDSON.

Select Despatches from the British Foreign Office Archives relating to the Formation of the Third Coalition against France, 1804-1805. Edited by JOHN HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1904. Pp. xii, 289.)

THIS publication, forming volume VII of the third series, consists of the more important British despatches dealing with the negotiations leading up to the Anglo-Austro-Russian alliance by the treaty of April 11, 1805, and of the despatches from Berlin in October-December, 1805, bearing upon the attempt to draw Prussia into that alliance. Some preliminary work in the way of selection of the important documents had previously been performed by Mr. Oscar Browning and Mr. J. W. Headlam, but it is evident that the real labor of editing has rested wholly with Mr. Rose. The material presented, save in the texts of a few documents, is entirely new and extremely valuable for the light it throws on the relations of the four great powers in their attitude toward France. The only historian who has had access to these despatches is Mr. Rose himself, and even he has used them but briefly in his *Napoleon I* to show that the coalition was not the result of "Pitt's gold", but of Napoleon's own arrogant acts, really forcing Russia to take a step that she at first desired to avoid. It is interesting to note that in his *Napoleon I* Mr. Rose places the usual emphasis upon the influence exerted on the mind of Alexander I by the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, while in his preface to the present volume he calls attention to the lack of diplomatic interest in this incident and considers its international importance to have been overestimated by historians. This later judgment is certainly wholly borne out by the despatches themselves.

In a brief review it is impossible to do more than state the general impression received from the material presented, and to point out some few of the larger questions that threatened to prevent the successful issue of the negotiations. That general impression is that the Third Coalition was formed with much more difficulty than is customarily asserted; due partly to mutual jealousies and suspicions, partly to the Russian lack of confidence in Warren, the English diplomat at St. Petersburg in the earlier part of the negotiation, but principally to

distinct topics of disagreement between England and Russia. Thus Russia heard rumors of a secret negotiation for peace between England and France, while England became suspicious of Russian activities in Turkey, and at the same time feared a resumption of friendly relations between Alexander and Napoleon. When Leveson-Gower succeeded Warren at St. Petersburg, the element of personal disagreement ceased and the new British diplomat proved himself much more gifted and much more bold in conducting the negotiation, venturing repeatedly to go beyond his instructions, where Warren would have sacrificed the main plan to a strict observance of his instructions in detail.

The chief difficulties in the way of a coalition were: the uncertain attitude of Austria, without whose aid Russia would not move; the preliminary proposal of terms to be offered to France; the disposition of Malta; the question of an international conference on maritime law; and the attitude to be assumed toward Prussia. It is evident that the English government was not fully informed of the preliminary agreement already reached by Austria and Russia, and that Czartoryski used the uncertainty of Austrian policy to force from England greater and greater concessions of subsidy, though at the same time it appears true that Czartoryski was himself doubtful of the real purpose of Austria. The English government became so disgusted with the vacillation of Cobenzl, the Austrian minister, as to suggest that efforts be made to undermine him at Vienna—an intrigue which Czartoryski declined. The plan of a proposal of terms to Napoleon apparently originated with England as a measure calculated to show to Russia the futility of further negotiations with France (though the exact origin of the plan is not made clear by the despatches). In the end, however, the idea of such a proposal was distinctly Russian and was unwillingly agreed to by England. It was in connection with this plan that the difficulties about Malta and the maritime code arose, Russia maintaining that a proposal to Napoleon would be generally regarded as insincere if it did not include the restitution of Malta, and that England's willingness to enter a conference on a reform of the maritime code, for the better protection of neutrals, would be strong evidence of good faith. On both points the English government was positive and stubborn in its refusal, and while in the end it did consent to the offer of a restitution of Malta, this was to be compensated for by such acquisitions as made the concession itself of no value. In fact Lord Mulgrave, Foreign Secretary, privately informed Leveson-Gower that Malta would never be given up. Ultimately the plan of a preliminary proposal of terms to Napoleon came to nothing because of the latter's arrogant action in Genoa—an action justly regarded by Russia as an intentional insult to Europe.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the negotiations is the light thrown upon the attitude of Russia and in particular of Czartoryski toward Prussia, and toward the project of including Prussia in the coalition. England was very anxious to secure Prussian aid, with the

especial purpose of releasing Holland from French control, and urged that inducements in the way of additional territory must be offered to Prussia. This did not please Czartoryski, who urged rather that threats should be addressed to Prussia to compel her aid. Unquestionably it is possible to read in Czartoryski's plan a desire to destroy Prussian greatness and to pave the way for a restoration of Polish importance. Thus these despatches furnish additional proof of Czartoryski's patriotic ideas of a regenerated Poland. The wishes of the English government carried the day, however, and offers were made to Prussia. Yet these were so restricted by Russian jealousy as to constitute no sufficient inducement at the time. Other points of interest are Russia's desire and England's unwillingness that Spain be included in the coalition, Russia's indifference to the fate of Sardinia (not her customary attitude), an agreement that Holland and Belgium be united in one kingdom, a total indifference to the cause of Louis XVIII, and the avowed determination not to interfere in any way in the internal government of France.

The Russian despatches cover the period from April 27, 1804, to August 14, 1805. Mr. Rose next gives us the despatches beginning October 27, 1805, detailing Lord Harrowby's mission to Berlin. The chief interest here is with Hardenberg's well-known assertion that Harrowby offered Holland to Prussia as a bribe to induce Prussia to join the coalition, and in the secret Russo-Prussian agreement that Prussia should have Hanover. As to the former, Harrowby's despatches show that he proposed the temporary occupation of Holland by Prussia, and nothing more, while on the question of the cession of Hanover the English government, as soon as it was aware of the plan, instructed Harrowby to take the ground that he could in no way discuss it as he was an English and not a Hanoverian diplomat. England, quite evidently, did not think anything would result from such a plan but was quite willing that Russia should hold out this bribe or any other, if only it would result in Prussia's active participation in the war. Moreover this Russian plan for the aggrandizement of Prussia evidently seemed to England to have the advantage of committing Russia to the policy of offering increase of territory to Prussia, and this might now well be urged on the eastern instead of the western boundary. But with the news of Austerlitz all negotiations soon ceased, the last despatch in the volume bearing date of December 13, 1805.

E. D. ADAMS.

Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I. Von THEODOR SCHIEMANN. Band I. *Kaiser Alexander I. und die Ergebnisse seiner Lebensarbeit.* (Berlin: Georg Reimer. 1904. Pp. x, 637.)

THE time has perhaps come when it is possible to write a full and reasonably impartial life of Nicholas I of Russia, the sovereign who prided himself on being not only the guardian of law and order, of religion and established principles, but also the first gentleman of

Europe. On the other hand, to millions he was the hateful embodiment of all that was most brutal in an unlimited despotism, a cruel tyranny supported by only a huge army and a base, corrupt bureaucracy. Outside of Russia his memory has met with but little sympathy. In his own country the opinion held of him may be taken as an excellent touchstone of a man's political principles at the present day.

For better or for worse Nicholas during many years almost dominated Europe; and the story of his aims and achievements, of his extraordinary successes and his final disastrous failure, is well worth the telling. His recent biography by General Schilder suffers from the limitations which censorship rules impose on a Russian author who writes of comparatively recent political events. Also, the work has not been translated, and after two sumptuous volumes has by the death of the author been brought to a premature end with the year 1830. In western languages we have nothing of consequence except the eight volumes of the French life of the emperor by Paul Lacroix; but, besides being superficial and out of date, it too is unfinished, not getting beyond 1841. A satisfactory study of him is yet to be written.

Of living foreign scholars Professor Schieman is probably the one best fitted for such an undertaking. From Reval in the Russian Baltic provinces he was called to the University of Berlin, where he has distinguished himself by notable work on Slavic history. His present task is one to which he evidently intends to do justice, as is shown by the fact that in five hundred closely printed pages (not counting the valuable appendixes) he does not reach the subject of his title. This his first volume is, as is announced by a second title-page, a history of the reign and character of Alexander I. Nicholas appears in it but little; indeed there is only one chapter devoted to him. The book deals more particularly with the career and the character of Alexander, his relations with his father, the story of his violent accession to the throne, and the affairs of his long reign.

Not even five hundred pages could do more than scant justice to so extensive a subject. Professor Schieman has done wisely in restricting his efforts to certain aspects of it. So far at least, his work is not a military history, hence he does not take up the tale of the many campaigns of the Russian armies between 1803 and 1826, nor does he enter into competition with Vandal by describing at length the diplomatic relations between Alexander and Napoleon. The doings of the Holy Alliance are likewise disposed of in the briefest possible manner. For many details in this connection the writer would probably refer us to Bernhardt, *Geschichte Russlands*. On the other hand Alexander's diplomacy in the Eastern question comes in for a hundred pages; his relations with the Poles are given as much more; and half of the rest of the volume is devoted to the internal affairs of Russia during his reign. Everywhere we find the same care on the part of the author in collecting, sifting, and making use of his facts. It is true that at times

we may wish for a little more warmth on his part—his book is not light reading—and we may feel that if he were capable of more sympathy for the persons he describes, his views of them would perhaps be fairer; still his judgment is always sane. When, in his last page of all, he sums up the strength and weakness of the emperor whom he has taken such pains in describing, even if the characterization is not artistically brilliant, it is convincing as being the opinion of a sound and thoughtful scholar. We look forward with much interest to the continuation of the work.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The True Henry Clay. By JOSEPH M. ROGERS. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1904. Pp. 388.)

MR. ROGERS, as the other authors of the "True" series, starts out with the purpose of employing the odds and ends of material which discriminating historians have rejected as unimportant, in order to reverse popular judgments, which are, in large matters, generally correct. He is, however, too good a Kentuckian really to diminish Clay's shadow, and precisely in this local setting lies the peculiar value of his book.

The topical method prescribed for the series is less felt to be a disadvantage in this than in some of the other lives, for Clay was one of those precocious men who flash in full brilliancy upon their contemporaries. Moreover, Mr. Rogers uses his method with freedom, so that although we continually shift backward and forward, we nevertheless make progress from chapter to chapter; gradually becoming aware that, though Clay's mind did not develop, his information increased and his character grew. The loose, rambling, repetitious style, running at times even into errors of grammar, informs us at once that we are not to look here for the minor accuracies of scholarship. Nor are all the errors minor. It is an inexcusable mistake to attribute to Clay the Missouri compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ (p. 238); Clay was more enthusiastic than Adams over the Panama Congress (p. 139); the sturdy descendants of Calhoun will view with surprise the statement that "if Calhoun had been blessed with a wife and children, the history of the country might have been very different" (p. 249). Nor is the lack of precision absolved by much contribution of new material. The book seems to have been written mainly from Colton's *Clay*, Adams's *Memoirs*, and Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, supplemented by a large personal knowledge derived from the press and from tradition. The author had access to certain Clay manuscripts, but their importance is not great. He has not the historical training to enable him to adjudge the value of this material, and the plan of the series forbids foot-notes; but he has met these disadvantages by giving in the text the sources of most new statements, and so allowing the reader to make an individual judgment. The absence of a good index is not serious in a book which cannot be used for reference, and whose value depends upon being read as a whole.

Read as a whole, the book produces an admirable impression. While lacking the equipment of Mr. Schurz for an understanding of national issues, Mr. Rogers abounds in shrewd observations and is nearly always fair in his treatment of the several sections and of the statesmen, except Calhoun. Nor is he especially guilty of the characteristic American vice of universal tolerance. In national affairs he is confident, but not always sure-footed, but once on the soil of Kentucky his tread is as certain as it is bold. His style carries one along until "coffee and pistols for two" seems the natural result of a senatorial colloquy; until one grasps the distinction between gambling in public resorts, playing for stakes with friends in a hotel, and playing in one's own home; until a Kentucky gentleman becomes distinguished alike from the frontiersman, the Cavalier, and the Puritan. One catches the charm of the blue-grass and almost shares Mr. Rogers's regret that the "siren of ambition" allured or the "demon of ambition" drew Clay so often from the delights of Ashland. Nor does Mr. Rogers reproduce simply the Kentucky of to-day. He so well makes us realize the conditions during the first half of the century that Clay's political programme rises naturally from his environment. The character of Kentucky slavery fully explains Clay's feeling with regard to that institution generally; his attitude in the War of 1812 and his advocacy of internal improvements and the tariff are seen to be the result of great forces at work around him, and we are shown exactly how the connection between the evolutionary and the personal element was made. Clay's personality is as happily developed as his environment. His sensitive, almost feminine nature, which made him particularly susceptible to his surroundings; his quick, intuitive mastery of new subjects; his subsequent lack of determination when policies conflicted, which brought him defeat when in conflict with narrower but stronger natures; and the charm and sweetness of his character are gradually made plain and fixed in the mind by illustrative stories. His superficiality is no more hidden than the quickness of his repartee and the power of his voice. It is true that the text does not convey a full appreciation of his power of leadership, but this defect is in part remedied by three illuminating portraits, now for the first time published.

This biography detracts no whit from the value of Schurz's account of the national activities of Henry Clay, but it will give the general reader a much better idea of the man, and can be neglected by no student of American history, unless, perchance, he has had the good fortune to be born in Kentucky.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Abraham Lincoln. By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1904. Pp. 389.)

It is unfortunate that a person so "discriminating" as Dr. Oberholtzer in his "standards of elegance" (p. 332) should become the

biographer of one so much of whose life was passed amid "objects and scenes which do not come within the range of attention of well-bred men" (p. 333). He is plainly distressed to find so much more that is "homely" than that is "dignified" (p. 283) in Lincoln's career, and it is doubtless this sensibility that has prevented him from becoming more familiar with the region from which his hero sprang. Otherwise he would have better acquainted himself with the movement for internal improvements in the west (pp. 40, 44), and would not have devoted to the Army of the Potomac forty-two of his fifty-one pages on the war. He views the "slouch hats" of the Southern "hotspurs" (pp. 191-192) with equal disfavor, and perhaps for this reason finds it the easier to believe in the cabinet "conspiracy" preceding the war (pp. 164-165), which is now so generally discredited. Why Buchanan's good wishes to Lincoln should have been made "with half guilty irony" (p. 185), and why the valedictories of the Southern senators were "mock heroic" (p. 172), is not made obvious. The vigorous adjectives so liberally applied to the Democratic party and its leaders are matched by those descriptive of the Republicans and Abolitionists, but with this difference, if a style somewhat obscured by a craving for epigram does not mislead us, that the latter are always put in the mouths of opponents. They clearly do not represent the opinion of Dr. Oberholtzer, who cannot forgive Lincoln for not having been an Abolitionist and for not joining the Republican party at the moment of its inception. So much that is without the range of Dr. Oberholtzer's attention is necessary for a comprehension of Lincoln's character that it is not surprising to find him sometimes unequal to his task. The discussion of Lincoln's "use of the English language" (pp. 337-343) is calculated to produce inextinguishable laughter; that of his religion (pp. 301-303) is inane; of his love-affairs (pp. 45-52), atrocious.

This double sectionalism and these standards of elegance are fatal to the usefulness of a book which does not pretend to a "vast amount of research into sources not before used" (p. 5), and which presents few new ideas. Nor is the execution faultless. The handling of the debates with Douglas is good, except for an unaccountable neglect of the Freeport questions and answers. A life of Lincoln should show more fully his share in bringing about the *dénouement* at Fort Sumter (p. 191), and in saving Maryland to the Union (p. 198), and the steps he took toward reconstruction. Two legal errors are curious. It certainly did not require the doctrine of popular sovereignty to enable "the whim of a moment at the polling place" to convert "New York and New England" "into slave ground" (p. 85); that was a universally recognized attribute of their sovereignty. Again, not even the farthest-fetched *obiter dictum* of the Dred Scott decision stated "that slaves must be regarded as property entitled to legal protection as such in every part of the Union" (pp. 98-99). Of minor errors, it should be noted that monkeys were not, in Lincoln's time, numerous in

Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois (p. 333); that the President does not deliver his inaugural address on the Fourth of July (p. 206); and that the "United States Foreign Office" (p. 223) has never existed. It is unfortunate that the quotation from Lincoln's second inaugural should be marred by a misprint (p. 340), the repetition of "let us strive".

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Lee and Longstreet at High Tide. Gettysburg in the Light of the Official Records. By HELEN D. LONGSTREET. (Gainesville, Ga.: Published by the Author. 1904. Pp. 346.)

OF the great leaders of the South in the Civil War, competing with Stonewall Jackson for the honor of the place next to Lee, is Longstreet, familiarly known in the Army of Northern Virginia as Lee's old War-horse. Jackson's fame has had the advantage of a shorter, but more brilliant career, ended dramatically, at the moment of a wonderful victory, by the fire of his own men. Longstreet's distinction was won by the unique record of unbroken and distinguished service, second in command to Lee, from Bull Run to Appomattox. And in all that time his corps was never defeated and only once repulsed—at the "High-water Mark" on the field of Gettysburg. Its record is unsurpassed by that of any other corps upon either side, and its survivors took especial pride in the fact that, at Appomattox, Longstreet alone, among the leading officers, refused to advise surrender, and said to Lee, as he rode to meet Grant, "If he will not give us honorable terms come back and let us fight it out."

Two years later, during the period of Reconstruction, Congress proposed to readmit the South to participation in the government if it would disfranchise all its former leaders. Longstreet, who would have been one of those disfranchised, wrote a letter to a New Orleans morning paper advising acceptance of the terms. They were, indeed, for that year of the world, as liberal terms as were ever offered a conquered people; and far more liberal than those which the South was finally forced to accept after years of loss and suffering. But it was a period of intensely bitter feeling upon both sides. The South smarted under the sense of unjust oppression, and high-handed robbery by brute force. A vindictive party at the north hungered to avenge the "sins of slavery and rebellion". The high-minded example set by Grant at Appomattox and the statesmanlike intentions of Lincoln were forgotten in the fury kindled by the insane crime of his assassination. An afternoon paper greeted the appearance of Longstreet's unselfish and disinterested advice with the senseless cry of "Traitor to the South". It was taken up by the uninformed and the sensational, and Longstreet was soon practically ostracized in the city, and lost the small business by which he was endeavoring to support his family. Two years after this, Grant, who had been his intimate friend at West Point, knowing of his condition, unsolicited, appointed him collector of the port at New

Orleans. This identified him with the Republican party at the south, and for years popular prejudice was bitter against him except among the comparatively small number who knew the facts and the man.

During this period of strong political feeling, and three years after the death of General Lee in 1870, sensational charges first appeared that Longstreet had caused the loss of the battle of Gettysburg by disobedience of Lee's orders. For years afterward Longstreet's conduct at that battle was the burning question among Confederates and all interested in Confederate history. Among impartial historians the result has been the entire acquittal of Longstreet of anything that could be called disobedience. But it was developed that he believed the attack to be very unwise, and that, when first proposed, he had advised strongly against it. It is well known that Lee consulted freely with his lieutenants, but decided for himself and personally superintended the execution of his orders.

Meanwhile the political prejudice, which at first had fostered and maintained the accusations of treachery to the Southern cause, had died out; and at Confederate reunions Longstreet had long become again a welcome and honored guest, when, in 1903, General Gordon, a distinguished Confederate, in a volume of *Reminiscences* reiterated, in their most extreme form, the charges against Longstreet originally made thirty years before. Both Gordon and Longstreet at the time of this publication were in failing health, and both died within a few months thereafter. It is not surprising that Mrs. Longstreet, jealous of the fair fame of her long-maligned husband, and well equipped for the task with all the facts established in the much-sifted controversy, should feel impelled to marshal briefly the whole "Story of the Records"; and with it give the coup-de-grâce to the revived slander of a period too near to the events for true historic perspective. She has done this most creditably in a memorial volume, published by herself, of convenient size and attractive print, finish, and illustrations. The first portion of the book (90 pages) is devoted to Longstreet's part in the great struggle at Gettysburg, which is shown to have conformed to all of Lee's orders and to have received his approval then and thereafter. A second division (30 pages) is devoted to Longstreet the man, brave, strong, unselfish, and true in every relation of life. A third division sketches but too briefly his service in Mexico, where he was severely wounded at the storming of Chapultepec. A fourth reviews some of the noted battles of the Civil War, before and after Gettysburg, in which he bore a part. An appendix is devoted to personal records and to tributes of affection from friends, and of admiration from foes, among those who during the four long and bloody years fought with him or against him. In these tributes may be read an epitaph which will hand down to history the untarnished memory of a great soldier.

E. P. ALEXANDER.

El Verdadero Juárez y la Verdad sobre la Intervención y el Imperio.

Por FRANCISCO BULNES. (Paris and Mexico: Librería de la Vda. de Ch. Bouret. 1904. Pp. 873.)

THERE have been three great periods in the history of modern Mexico—the Conquest, the Revolution, the Empire. Each of these, in a phrase, was a conflict between forces of the Old and New Worlds, the first eventuating in victory for the older order, the second in a compromise, the third in a triumph for a society which, although fertilized by the Continent, was in its essence Mexican. Señor Bulnes's work falls within the third period, and for the above reason—together with the fact that the Monroe doctrine as expounded by the United States then received its severest test—it has interest for us.

Señor Bulnes in his *El Verdadero Juárez* is to be congratulated. Indeed, this does not quite express the full measure of satisfaction rendered by the very capable and, in a sense, fairly brilliant work. The book, however, has some drawbacks when tested by American standards. It is an excellent example of the difference between the modern scientific and the discursive Latin schools. Be this difference what it may, the manner and spirit of his writings pleases, even though one may smile at certain predilections and prejudices of the author, which, as though by purpose, are frankly exposed. If it had no other merit, it would be a notable production because of its wonderful portraits of the leading figures of the intervention and Empire. It is doubtful whether thus far anything has been published which quite equals it in this respect. The limning of Maximilian is capital. One phrase in his characterization is worthy of quotation: "Comenzaba todo y nada acababa" (p. 541). Juárez, too, is searchingly criticized, even his ability being questioned, while his character (as indeed for all his biographers) retains its mysterious qualities. In this respect it is no injustice to the author to place him in company with Loizillon, Lefèvre, Zamacois (who could never strip anything because of his prolixity), Marx, Kératry, Bibesco, and the authors of *A través de los Siglos*. Señor Bulnes has been unmitigatedly harsh with all his characters except Márquez, one of the blackest, according to many; and one of the worst sufferers is Juárez, that personification of an idea, that imposing Indian struggling for his native land. Powhatan, Tecumseh, Pontiac—all battled to save their peoples from destruction. Juárez alone triumphed, saving, for the time, Mexico for Mexicans.

The book is divided into five parts. Part 1 deals with the questions which led up to the intervention, and it is scarcely necessary to say that the corrupt and utterly unconscionable rôle of the governments responsible for it is set forth with no mincing of words. As in his *El Porvenir de las Naciones Hispanoamericanas*, Señor Bulnes takes a gloomy view of the conduct of states. Truly, having at hand in Mexico so happy an illustration of the sinning of nations against a nation, he cannot be much blamed if he looks upon history as a chronicle of unkindnesses.

The utterly base and infamous claims which were given to the world by the powers as the bases for their intervention in Mexico have nowhere received a more complete airing than here. Be it said to the credit of England, Lord Russell refused to play the rôle assigned his government, though this does not relieve England of the stigma of having herself presented a very shadowy claim.

The answer to these claims might have been anticipated, for a man like Juárez could never have consented to the insolent demands of the powers. The intervention must therefore proceed, which among its other purposes held the beneficent one of giving Mexico a stable government. It is true that Mexico since 1810 had been more or less a seething political caldron, casting up leader after leader and as many forms of government. The saving grace of each of these—excepting the short-lived empire of Iturbide—lies in the fact that it was republican. So much was this the case, Señor Bulnes affirms, that when the foreign armies landed at Vera Cruz there was not in Mexico a monarchistic party large or small (p. 16). It is needless to say that on this point evidence is wanting, and that there are many dissenters; even the author himself is led to say (p. 472) that a man of character and mettle could have established permanently the Empire.

Parts II and III have to do with things military. The progress of the war is noted in detail. The author's strictures on the leadership of Juárez and his advisers are most severe. Especially is this true of their conduct of the Puebla campaign, which eventuated in the annihilation of practically the whole of the organized army of the Republic. Part IV, "La Salvación", treating of the causes contributing to the overthrow of the Empire, is, as a whole, not up to the standard. For example, a whole chapter (62 pages) is devoted to a discussion of the French depreciation of the Mexican soldier, an element characterized by Señor Bulnes as a third ally of Juárez. Other chapters, however, contain a superb analysis of the society of Mexico. The dissection of the native with his traditions and prejudices is most vivid and convincing. These chapters cannot be too highly praised.

Another discussion in this part is open to criticism. In the affair of the Empire the United States has never been clearly placed, nor has Señor Bulnes rendered it definite. While the subject of intervention had been broached by the powers as early as 1859, its final resolution was no doubt hastened by the outbreak of hostilities between the North and the South. Pending the settlement of secession there could be no operation of the Monroe doctrine, so far as the application of its implied powers was concerned. Nevertheless, the author shows truly that from the first Juárez counted on the assistance of the Union. He does not, however, bring out the rather servile rôle played by the United States in refusing to permit the embarkation of a few arms bought by Bustamante, while facilitating French purchases of wagons and mules, without which the invaders had been stranded in the mountains between

Vera Cruz and the capital. Nor does he begin to pierce the subtleties of Seward's diplomacy, which truly here borrowed some of the taint of Italy. With one hand this astute man blinded Romero, and with the other drew a veil over the befogged Napoleon, whom the secretary recognized as the European stalking-horse which, once properly deployed, might with all ease demolish the bulwarks of the Union. Another depth, too, he does not sound. How else could he affirm that, had the South triumphed, Mexico would have been conquered by her for the purpose of extending slavery? or indeed invaded and divided with Napoleon (p. 144)?

Part v, "La Justicia", recounts the final struggle with its calamitous ending. Here is laid bare the causes of the failure of the Empire. The utter weakness of Maximilian in dealing with great problems of state are all too manifest. And here again, as history has often chronicled, it is the failure of the finances which pulled down the structure of state. By 1866 the debt of Mexico was \$430,000,000, Maximilian's part in it reaching the enormous sum of \$255,000,000. These questions are luminously treated, and many others concentrating in the *chute*.

Señor Bulnes has produced a book which, spite of its defects, is notable. Had he avoided certain of the attractive digressions not material to his story; had he summarized the long quotations from other authors or banished them to foot-notes; had he given us a bibliography and an index (sorely needed, for there are 870 pages), there could have been nothing but praise for his work. He has, however, earned our gratitude by citing his authorities on most disputed points, and these citations are by no means infrequent, for he not only familiarized himself with the literature of his subject, but he delved in archives and upturned materials which cast a lime-light on not a few hitherto obscure pages. Finally, we can but repeat that, whatever its faults, the brilliance of his style, his sincerity, his fearlessness in handling severely some of the heroes of Mexico, can have from us but the warmest commendation.

WALTER FLAVIUS MCCAULEY.

Th. Nast, his Period and his Pictures. By ALBERT BIGELOW PAINE.
(New York and London: Macmillan. 1904. Pp. xxi, 583, xx.)

WITH an abundance of admiration and sympathy for his subject, Mr. Paine has produced this story of "the father of the American cartoon". It is a story full of striking incident and human interest, skilfully unrolling the picturesque career of a genius who had within him the potentialities of an American Hogarth. No other American artist has ever transformed his pencil into such a scepter of political power, and probably no other ever will. The 450 illustrations that lend a singular value to this volume are nearly all reproductions of Nast's contributions to *Harper's Weekly* between 1862 and 1886. They form at once a convincing illustration of Nast's character and ideals as described in the text, and a marvelous exposition and commentary concerning the polit-

ical history of that quarter-century. The hero is first introduced as "The Rover", under which caption Mr. Paine follows Nast's early wanderings from his birthplace at Landau, Bavaria, to New York city, to England to illustrate the famous Heenan-Sayers prize-fight for the *New York News*, and then to Sicily and Naples with the famous expedition of Garibaldi in 1860.

As a youth in New York city he lived where he could see the fierce tiger's head of big chief Bill Tweed's "Big six" fire-engine, an emblem which he was afterward to affix forever to Tweed and Tammany as the symbol of predatory politics. During the same period he laid the foundations of an artistic career under Theodore Kaufmann and Alfred Fredericks, and in the Academy of Design under Cummings. Part two of the story is devoted to Nast "The Patriot", and covers the period from 1861 to 1869, when his cartoons upon the war, or the issues of the war, drew from Lincoln the opinion that Nast was "our best recruiting sergeant", and from Grant the remarkable saying that Nast was "the foremost figure in civil life" developed by the Civil War, having done "as much as any one man to preserve the Union and bring the war to an end" (p. 106). Part three reveals in text and picture the ever-instructive tale of the warfare upon Tweed under the title of Nast "The Reformer", 1869-1871. In the issue of the *Weekly* for January 15, 1870, Nast first introduced the donkey as the symbol of the Democratic party, and just before the election in November, 1871, he first portrayed the fierce tiger in the amphitheater mangling the State while Tweed and his satellites looked on in splendor from imperial seats (pp. 146, 197). "Let's stop them damned pictures", said Tweed; "I don't care so much what the papers write about me—my constituents can't read; but, damn it, they can see pictures!" (p. 179). From 1872 to 1876 Nast is represented as "The Defender", which term defines Nast's attitude toward Grant. From 1877 to 1886 Mr. Paine follows Nast through the "Rag Baby" campaigns and into his bolt from Blaine in behalf of Cleveland. Part six, 1887 to 1902, tells the pathetic story of the latter days of the artist, wrecked in fortune, dethroned from his high place in popular favor by his rivals in *Puck* and *Life*, finally exiled for the sake of daily bread to a pestilential consulate in Ecuador, but retaining to the end the good humor and affectionate geniality which always characterized him and which are so manifest even in the picture that serves as a frontispiece to this biography.

The student of our political history during the last half of the nineteenth century will derive from this book a unique service. It is surprising what a light falls from these pictures upon the narrative of party strife. Tweed's fear was well-founded. Mr. Roosevelt once said to Nast, "I learned my politics from your cartoons", and the poet Stedman wrote, "Nast's double gift of art and epigram made history and was history itself." Text and pictures in this volume together present a story that can be found nowhere else, not even in the many

volumes of *Harper's Weekly* from 1862 to 1886. Mr. Paine possibly allows his affection for his subject to carry him near the danger-line of exaggeration, as when he defends Nast's claim to the title of "Statesman", or seems in danger of forgetting that Nast did not march alone. But there can be no doubt that Nast was always terribly in earnest, and that, by reason of his earnestness and power combined, his cartoons will have a permanent value in history. The great artists who made *Punch* famous never injected into their cartoons such fierce passion as that which seems to glow even now in or behind every one of Nast's pictorial arguments.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Treaties, their Making and Enforcement. By Samuel B. Crandall, Ph.D. (New York, The Columbia University Press, The Macmillan Company, 1904, pp. 255.) This is a monograph in the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law (volume XXI, no. 1). It is a concise presentation of the process of treaty-making and enforcement under the various constitutional governments of the world. Only brief descriptions of the treaty processes are given for most of the countries of Europe and for the Central and South American states. For Great Britain and France the treaty prerogative is more elaborately considered.

More than one-half of the volume is devoted to the treaty-making power in the United States. The monograph presents the subject both historically and from the standpoint of public law. Methods of negotiation, ratification, and enforcement are described under the operation of the Continental Congress, the Confederation, and the Constitution. Precedent and usage in the principal matters of public law and historical interest are set forth with clearness and discrimination, including the Senate's initiative, its confirming the negotiators, approving instructions, and its proposal of amendments. The fact and law of precedent and usage are presented with brevity and authority on a variety of treaty topics, including the Senate rules in treaty session; the distinction between ratification and approval; the President's power to withhold a treaty from the Senate, and to make protocols of agreement without Senatorial assent; the relation of treaty law to Congressional and state law; the abrogation of treaties; the duty of Congress when treaties call for appropriations; treaties touching territorial cessions, changes in the laws, international copyright, postal regulations, Indian tribes, and extradition.

In the discussion of the important historical precedents the student of American diplomatic history will find much of value and interest. As to whether the treaty power can bind the legislative action, the traditional view, first defended by Gallatin, has been that when a treaty includes matters confided by the Constitution to the whole body of Congress, an act of legislation will be necessary to confirm those articles,

and such an act the House is free to allow or disallow at its discretion, and that foreign governments are presumed to know that, so far as a treaty stipulates to pay money, legislative sanction is required to the validity of the treaty. Dr. Crandall's thesis rejects this view. While it recognizes, of necessity, that a treaty stipulating for an appropriation can be fully carried into effect only by an act of Congress, yet it is maintained (pp. 134-135) that "if the House has no agency in the making of the treaty, its action is not essential to the validity of the treaty. For the House to disclaim any agency in the making of the international compact, but at the same time to deny any obligation to execute it, is to recognize another organ of government as competent to bind the nation, but at the same time to except itself from the obligation." The monograph is a worthy study not only as an exercise in investigation, but in its tangible results. JAMES A. WOODBURN.

A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools. Prepared by a Special Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association. (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1904, pp. 375.) This committee of ten, of which Professor Herbert Darling Foster was chairman, undertook the task of making a thorough syllabus covering the four blocks or periods marked by the Committee of Seven, giving references to available and useful books, and in other ways furnishing the teachers with suggestions and useful information. The work has been done with great care and with elaboration. A general introduction points out the purpose of the volume and the way it should be used and gives a few well-chosen suggestions to teachers. Then each block of history is treated separately; the main problems to be met in handling the period and the chief end to be gained are briefly stated. For each period there is an elaborate outline, accompanied by explicit references to authorities. For each period also is given a select bibliography, with the names of publishers and the prices of the volumes, as well as the more necessary and usual bibliographical detail.

Almost any one, unwise enough to try, could find fault with some portion of this work. One might question the advisability of referring to certain books, or might doubt the wisdom of the method of analysis used. Of course history cannot be reduced to an absolutely logical system which will extort acquiescence from everybody. But these references have been made by those who know historical literature, and the analysis has been made by those who know their history; and the result is a general scheme which will surely be of unusual service to the teacher. It is not unwise therefore to use a time-worn expression and say that the desk of every teacher should be supplied with a copy of this book. The gratitude of the teaching profession (we do not speak so confidently of the boys and girls) is due the committee for the toil and intelligence with which this volume was prepared. Possibly some teachers will be bewildered by the wealth of illustrative material; but

it is unnecessary to say that many references are necessary to meet many conditions, and that the task of the teacher in making a selection ought not to be very burdensome.

A Register of National Bibliography, with a selection of the chief bibliographical books and articles printed in other countries, by William Prideaux Courtney (London, Constable, 1905, 2 vols., pp. viii, 314, 315-631), reminds one of the *Dictionary of National Biography* not merely by its title but by the exhaustiveness and compactness of the information it contains. While it includes references to bibliographical matter of interest to all scientists, it must, like other works of this class, be of primary value to the historian; partly for its references to bibliographies of historical literature, but even more for its references to bibliographies of related subjects. The work also contains a few notes of bibliographies in manuscript. Among these may be mentioned a catalogue raisonné of the Thomason collection of pamphlets in the British Museum, now in course of preparation, and the collections of a bibliography of ancient and Christian Rome, by Professor J. H. Middleton, which is preserved in the British Museum.

W. D. JOHNSTON.

Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia. Von Benedictus Niese. Dritter Teil. Von 188 bis 120 v. Chr. (Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1903, pp. xii, 468.) Niese's *History of the Greek and Macedonian States* is a supplement to Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*, and a companion work to Hermann Schiller's *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*. All three are professedly handbooks of ancient history. They have this in common—they all tend to be dull. Niese's history is more than dull—it is tedious. In the first place it lacks any distinction of style. In the second place it does not redeem or justify this defect by any real insight into character, or by any lucid combination of the material. In fact this volume is broken up into a number of parallel histories, which, according to Niese, is the only possible result when Rome is not made the historian's standpoint. That is tantamount to a confession that his work ought to have ceased earlier.

At any rate, this, the last book of the three, is distinctly formless. It begins at 188 B. C. because the second ended there; and the second ended for the same reason for which the third comes to a conclusion, not because of anything intrinsic in the subject, but, as Niese frankly admits, on account of the exhaustion of the space at his disposal. Niese tends to include everything he happens upon, if not in the text, then in the foot-notes. Such faults as these would ruin an ordinary book. But this is a German handbook, and, besides, Niese is not an ordinary man. He is, indeed, one of the keenest of modern critics, and, in addition, a scholar of wide range and exact knowledge. This volume, like each of the earlier ones, contains many invaluable sections, and

practically all the available data. Appended are seven pages of *Addenda et Corrigenda*, a rather perfunctory chronological supplement, and a complete index.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Die neue Livius-Epitome aus Oxyrhynchus. Von Ernst Kornemann. [Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, zweites Beiheft.] (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904, pp. 131.) The importance of the fragmentary epitome of Livy, which was one of the treasures of the fourth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, warranted Kornemann in making it the subject of a special study. His text (pp. 13-34) differs in numerous points from that of the *editio princeps*, but the general sense has seldom been altered by the changes. The commentary (pp. 35-68) is noteworthy for the quotation of the passages in Livy and epitomes of Livy by which the restorations suggested are supported. So far little strikingly new is offered. It is in the last two sections of his book, iv (pp. 68-87), in which is established the genealogy of the papyrus; and v, in which the history of the years 150 to 137 B. C. is recast so as to include the new material, that Kornemann has done his best work. The stemma on p. 88 presents the main conclusions of section iv. In section v the new information contained in the papyrus is summarized and appraised. It comes from the last 135 lines of the fragment, as is natural, since these alone are derived from lost books (40 to 55) of Livy. The second century B. C. of Roman history is like the third century B. C. of Greek history in the lamentable dearth of other than the merest apology for literary sources. And yet where in ancient history is knowledge more desirable than in the epoch which preceded the Gracchi? Hence the ready welcome extended by modern historians to this puny fragment with its penchant for prodigies, games, *stupra*, and anecdotes of all sorts; for out of its record of domestic affairs issues clearly, what Eduard Meyer had already surmised, the deadly reaction of the disastrous Spanish wars upon the position of the senatorial government. We learn how seriously it was embarrassed in securing recruits for the thankless conflicts with the Lusitanian and Celtiberian mountaineers. It obtained relief by sacrificing the Italian allies, and reaped its harvest in the Social War. The Principate had in this respect the same experience as the Republic, and for the same reason, the inability of Italy to support the burdens of world-empire. All this and much besides Kornemann makes clear.

W. S. FERGUSON.

La Terre et la Race Roumaines depuis leurs Origines jusqu'à nos jours, by Alexandre A. C. Sturdza (Paris, Librairie J. Rothschild, L. Laveur, 1904, pp. xvi, 724), if it only had an index, might be regarded as a handy encyclopedia of the history and conditions of Roumania. As it is, the task of reading through its seven hundred closely packed pages will be too much for the ordinary reader, even if he is interested in the subject, for there is not sufficient grace of style to ac-

celerate the digesting of so large an amount of matter. Of course to the specialist any such volume of general history is but of occasional use. Mr. Sturdza has devoted his first 150 pages to geography, physical, political, and economic; history comes in for about 440 pages, or the larger half of the book; and culture and civilization for 225 more. His dedication "à l'Héroïsme Séculaire des Roumains" shows the spirit in which he has written. We are thus prepared to find that the modern Roumanians are a harmonious blend of Dacians and Latins and "no one can to-day support the theory of Rössler and Hunfalvy" (that they were emigrants from south of the Danube) "without covering himself with ridicule". For the same reasons we are not surprised at being told that among the Magyars, "that last manifestation of Mongol savagery before the Tartars", the greater part of the aristocracy "was recruited from amidst the Roumanians who, having already an organized feudal nobility before the arrival of the Hungarians, imparted to them, together with this institution, a strain which clarified their blood and thus made possible the formation of an upper class among them" (p. 175). This is obviously not the tone of serious history. Nevertheless, in spite of the rather dithyrambic patriotism which deprives Mr. Sturdza's views of all claim to impartiality, he has written a solid work in more senses than one, for it is the product of no small amount of learning as well as of much toil. Most of us, indeed, who are still unable to read the history of Roumania in the language of the country itself must welcome every serious contribution to the subject in a western garb, especially when as in the present instance the book is based on the researches of the latest native writers.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Western Europe in the Eighth Century and Onward: an Aftermath. By the late E. A. Freeman, M.A., Hon. D. C. L., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (London and New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. viii, 470.) This volume contains portions of a considerable work on Frankish history at which Professor Freeman labored in his later years. They were left in disconnected form and in various stages of completion at the writer's death and were sent to the press by Professor York Powell, who considered them a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the period. They consist of a fragment on Balhild and Ebroin, a series of fragments on "Charles and Pippin and the Change of Dynasty", a fairly complete chapter of a hundred and eighty pages on the Italian and Saracen wars of Pippin, some scattering matter on "The Strife of Paris and Laon", and an appendix of critical notes. A book on Frankish history which makes a clean jump over the decisive years from 768 to 887 reads queerly, and it required some courage and considerable confidence in the importance of Mr. Freeman's conclusions to put his work before the public in such unfinished shape. The volume is plainly meant for the specialist, who will find profit in the discussions of the patriciate and donation and in the

detailed account of Pippin's campaigns, in spite of the amount of more or less relevant comparison and allusion with which the author was in the habit of overloading his writings. Mr. Freeman was deeply interested in the Franks and well versed in the narrative sources of their history, and he might well have produced a work in this field which would have done something to make up for the surprising lack of even tolerable books in English on the subject; but his real duty lay elsewhere. No one else was so well qualified to write the great *History of Sicily*, of which the four published volumes are only a beginning, and the time he spent on the Franks was taken from the more important task. "For this kind of thing the West-Gothic kings are left undone", wrote Mr. Freeman when Mrs. Ward published *Robert Elsmere*; and for an adequate account of the Normans in Sicily we could well spare all that is here written on the Aquitanian campaigns and the inexhaustible controversy over Pippin's relations with the pope.

C. H. HASKINS.

The Middle Ages: Sketches and Fragments. By Thomas J. Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L., Professor of Church History in the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. (New York, Benziger Brothers, 1904, pp. 432.) The thirteen essays and papers which Father Shahan has here collected from various Catholic periodicals are addressed to a popular audience and make no claim to originality. The longer essays deal with such general subjects as Gregory the Great, Justinian, Islam, the cathedral builders, the results of the Crusades, and the Italian Renaissance. Among the "fragments" we find a summary of Janssen's conclusions regarding German schools in the sixteenth century, a few pages on "Clergy and People in Mediæval England" as seen by Gasquet, and a refutation of Michelet's characterization of the middle ages as "a thousand years without a bath". "The Book of a Mediæval Mother" deals with the little-known manual which Dodana (or Dhuoda), duchess of Septimania, wrote in 843 for the edification of her son William, and there are still briefer papers on "The Christians of St. Thomas" and "The Mediæval Teacher". On all these topics the author holds a brief for the medieval church; and the longest essay in the volume, entitled "Catholicism in the Middle Ages", is an elaborate plea for the pre-eminence of the church as the great formative influence in medieval society. Much that is here said the impartial student of history must admit, but there is also another side, and there is likely to be some dissent from the dictum (p. 191) that "It is owing to the Catholic Church that we now enjoy a regular procedure in the administration of law." Even where no ecclesiastical considerations are involved, the author's habit of facile generalization leads him into such eccentricities of judgment as the exaltation of Justinian over Charlemagne, or into such an error as the assertion (p. 235) that "The inseparable text-book of the mediæval teacher was Vergil, and his majestic Latin the highest scientific ideal." The essays are pleasantly written and will prove agreeable

reading to Catholics, while those of a different way of thinking will be interested in seeing how such subjects are viewed by a fair-minded Catholic writer like Dr. Shahan.

C. H. HASKINS.

Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón. Tomo I. *Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Ramiro I: desde MXXXIV hasta MLXIII años.* Edited by Eduardo Ibarra y Rodriguez, Professor of History at the University of Saragossa. ([Zaragoza, A. Uriarte, 1904], pp. xiv, 273.) The appearance of this volume—which, as its title implies, is the first instalment of a series of publications dealing with the internal history of medieval Aragón—will be welcomed by all students of Spanish history, not only for its own sake, but also as an indication of the recent rise and growth in Spain of a new school of really scientific historians, a school of which Professor Altamira of the University of Oviedo may perhaps be regarded as the leader. This new school has already signalized itself by its zeal in publishing manuscripts and by its appreciation of the fact, which its predecessors failed to realize, that the history of a nation consists not merely in the narration of political events, but also in the description of social, economic, and constitutional conditions. The present volume is thoroughly worthy of the best aims of the school it represents. It comprises 150 documents of the reign of Ramiro I, of which 130 have never been published before, and the remaining twenty only in ancient works difficult of access; the material has been carefully gathered from seven different archives and six different printed sources; it has been arranged, as far as possible, in chronological order, according, by the way, to the Spanish era (*incipit* 38 B. C.), and published with useful and pertinent footnotes. The documents themselves, all of which are in medieval Latin, are for the most part deeds of donation of land and other property from King Ramiro either to some monastery or to some individual; there are also among them several records of judgments, sales, exchanges, etc., made in Aragón during his reign. The collection is perhaps chiefly of local interest, and will probably be used only by writers of special monographs: but the editor frankly states in his preface that it is this sort of work that it is his chief object to advance, and we certainly agree with him in assigning to it a position of prime importance, in view of the present state of historical study in Spain. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by an excellent index of names and places, a table of contents, and a supplementary index in which the documents are arranged according to the sources from which they come. A general glossary is promised after similar volumes for the reigns of Sancho Ramirez, Pedro I, Alfonso I, and Ramiro II have appeared. Professor Ibarra y Rodriguez would have done well had he printed the title of his work on the cover in modern rather than medieval characters; as it stands it is exceedingly difficult to read, and the loss in clearness is in no sense compensated by the gain in originality and attractiveness.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

Peter von Aragon und die sizilianische Vesper. Von Otto Cartellieri. [Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte: herausgegeben von Karl Hampe, Erich Marcks, und Dietrich Schäfer, Heft VII.] (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1904, pp. xii, 261.) This excellent monograph supplies a long-felt want by treating of the Sicilian Vespers as an episode in the foreign policy of Spain. Previous historians of this famous rebellion—and they are numerous (cf. the review of the most important ones by C. Cipolla in the *Revue Historique* for January–February, 1883, XXI, 135–147)—have occupied themselves chiefly with its local aspects, with discussions of the native struggle for liberty, and above all with the legend which has built itself up around the personality of John of Procida. The standpoint of Dr. Cartellieri on the other hand is strictly international. Beginning with the marriage, June 13, 1262, of Constance, the daughter of the Hohenstaufen Manfred, to Peter the son of James the conqueror of Aragon, he shows how the latter fell heir to the position in Naples and Sicily of the ancestors of his bride, and to their quarrel with the papacy, which had handed over their South Italian inheritance to the savage Charles of Anjou. Henceforth the chief goal of the diplomacy of the king of Aragon was the organization of a great coalition to drive the Angevin from his new possessions, and secure them for himself: he corresponded and negotiated for this purpose not only with the oppressed Sicilians, but also with several foreign powers, chief among whom was Michael Palæologus at Constantinople; and Dr. Cartellieri points out that the most important act with which John of Procida can be historically credited is his successful accomplishment of a mission to seek the alliance of the Byzantine emperor, to whom he had been sent by King Peter in August, 1281. The author also demonstrates that the traditional view that the revolt in Sicily came to pass when it did as the result of Peter's machinations is no longer tenable; he shows in fact that it occurred without the foreknowledge and consent of the king of Aragon, and was a positive hindrance to his plans; for when the rebellion first broke out in April, 1282, the leaders put themselves under the protection of the Holy See rather than that of Peter, thus promising to stultify the plans of the latter, who desired first and foremost the acquisition of the Hohenstaufen inheritance for himself. Several months of negotiation were necessary before the revolutionists could be persuaded that their only chance of safety was to place themselves under the protection of Peter and choose him as their king; and the story ends with the arrival of the Aragonese in Palermo and the subsequent beginning of that long struggle with the French for the supremacy in Sicily and Italy which lasted far on into modern times.

Dr. Cartellieri's work is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the foreign policy of medieval Aragon. The author is obviously in love with his subject, and though at times somewhat unnecessarily exclamatory, he has given us a sane and trustworthy account of a much-neglected

aspect of one of the most dramatic incidents of the middle ages. Non-German readers will be particularly grateful to him for an excellent index and table of contents, for exceptional simplicity and lucidity of style, and for the fact that his book is printed in Latin script.

R. B. MERRIMAN.

Mr. L. Cecil Jane's *The Coming of Parliament: England from 1350 to 1660* [The Story of the Nations] (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, pp. xvi, 406) is disappointing. All there is concerning Parliament could be compressed into a single chapter of the twelve. What there is about Parliament is not new. It is distributed without much plan or system; and some of it, as for instance the treatment of the creation of boroughs in the reign of Elizabeth, is inaccurate, and shows that in a work which from its title was to be chiefly concerned with Parliament, Mr. Jane did not take the trouble to go to any of the first-hand official and authoritative sources for such elementary data as the exact number of boroughs which were enfranchised in the days when the Tudor sovereigns were seeking to control the House of Commons. The general history of England between the Black Death and the Restoration makes an interesting narrative in Mr. Jane's pages, with here and there some new light on its different phases, or a new presentation of an old story. As a book professedly concerned with the "coming of Parliament" and the place of Parliament in national life, it cannot be said to have any particular merit or value, or to render of less service any of the accepted histories of English constitutional development. This is all the more to be regretted, as Mr. Jane hit on a good title, and might have given us a really serviceable volume had he kept to the idea which his title suggests.

EDWARD PORRITT.

A Mediæval Princess: being a True Record of the Changing Fortunes which Brought Divers Titles to Jacqueline, Countess of Holland; together with an Account of her Conflict with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 1401-1436. By Ruth Putnam, honorary member of the Maatschappij van Nederlandsche Letterkunde at Leyden. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904, pp. xv, 337.) Under this formidable title Miss Putnam has given an account of the various marriage alliances and domestic treasons through which the states of Hainaut, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, and Brabant entered into that complex of lordships and jurisdictions which was ultimately to form the basis of the Spanish dominion in the Netherlands. The author states in her preface, in justification of her work, that whereas the tyrannies of Philip of Spain and their results have been fully and frequently considered, the details of the entry into these lowlands of his Burgundian ancestor a century and a half earlier have received scanty notice in English. This is the real theme of the book, and in this the interest of the reader centers. All else, to use the author's own words (p. vii), are only the "foot-notes of history". In fact it may be fairly questioned whether a

consistent biography can be constructed out of the scraps of material—treaties, papal bulls, fragments of official correspondence, public proclamations, and mutilated account-books—out of which Miss Putnam has teased the outline of a biographical sketch. With all Miss Putnam's skill, Jacqueline of Hainaut remains only a shadowy outline still, in marked contrast with that lime-light vividness which attends every movement of her contemporary, the heroic Joan of Arc.

But if the author fails to arouse interest in the personal fortunes of Jacqueline, the book is none the less valuable as a piece of sober historical composition, presenting to the English reader a consistent account of the methods by which Burgundian power was built up in the Netherlands. The story, moreover, is full of special interest to the student of institutions because of the picture which it presents of life in that most romantic of all the Christian centuries, the fifteenth. Here one may see in operation what we may call the working constitution of later feudalism, where under the suggestive pen of Miss Putnam even the entries on the worm-eaten ledger of some forgotten Dutch secretary are made to bring up visions of the world that is no longer.

The publishers have done much to add to the attractiveness of the book by providing numerous and effective illustrations and, what is rare in such books, illustrations that really have some remote connection with the text. A map or two presenting the Low Countries as they were outlined in the fifteenth century would have added greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of the reader.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

Europe and the Far East. By Sir Robert K. Douglas. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge, At the University Press, New York, Macmillan, 1904, pp. viii, 450.) Professor Douglas has succeeded in presenting in English a useful text-book covering the entire period of the European relations of China, Korea, Japan, and Indo-China. His well-known wealth of information of these countries is perhaps better reflected in this than in any other work from his pen. The amount of data he has compressed into each chapter excites admiration. It is unfortunate that this valuable work should abound, as it does, in undignified expressions and also in unverified statements on important disputed points (see pp. 4, 144, 348-349, 411, 413, 414, 421, 422, 424, etc.). At times statements are so inaccurate that either the sequence of events or the truth of the subject under discussion is at best obscured (as on pp. 247 and 304, 284, 304, 307, 316, 414, etc.). Page 147 is, however, exceptionally bad, presenting uncritical and grave errors at least a dozen times. It is also to be regretted that the author should persist in his use of the most unscientific and misleading term "clan" for the Japanese fief or feudal domain. Perhaps the most serious charges to be brought against the work are the following two. First, while the work does not lack detailed accounts of court life and personal events, it is singularly defective in the institutional and economic aspect of the inter-

national relationship and on the analytical and explanatory side in general. Secondly, in the narrative of the events of which the author has the most intimate knowledge, namely, China's foreign relations, he is not content with a mere description, but throughout identifies himself with the British or European, or what he calls "our" side of the question. The result is that his point of view is rarely that of a student of history.

The tenth chapter, on Japan's new career, which alone was written by Professor G. W. Prothero, presents, both in style and in matter, a striking contrast to the remainder of the volume. Aside from its surprisingly few errors in a subject so strange to the writer, the chapter indicates his remarkable discrimination of data, as well as keen analysis of the various movements of the period and of the contents of the new Constitution.

The maps are well made, but the bibliographical feature of the work lacks the necessary care, as witness the foot-notes on pages 136, 140, and 239. The bibliographical appendix contains serious omissions and many errors. The fact that this volume should be included in the Cambridge Historical Series does not speak well for the general scholarship of oriental history. So far as the present state of this scholarship is concerned, however, Professor Douglas's work may perhaps be considered as one of the best productions that could be hoped for.

K. ASAKAWA.

A School History of the United States. By William H. Mace. (Chicago, Rand, McNally, and Company, 1904, pp. xiv, 465, xvii-xcv.) This text, prepared by Mr. Mace along the lines suggested in his *Method in History*, is intended for the grammar grades. The author has aimed to make the style at once vivid and simple; he has striven to inculcate the idea that American history is interesting, and that "men are always struggling to attain great ends" (p. v); he has given much attention to grouping "events into series" and "series into periods", even at the expense of strict chronological accuracy. It is the opinion of the reviewer that Mr. Mace has produced a good text for grammar-grade students. The presentation is clear and effective. The grouping, if a little overdone, is mainly well done. The proportion, with one exception which will be mentioned presently, is good. At the end of the book there is an elaborate series of questions for each division of the text, accompanied with references to sources, secondary accounts, and fiction. Two features are especially commendable: the space devoted to the life of the people and to the industrial development of the last quarter of a century; and the maps and charts, of which there are over fifty. The latter, judging from the vagueness of entering college classes on points of geography, should be of immense service. In the opinion of the reviewer, two defects stand out rather prominently. One of these is the excessive space devoted to military events. It is true that Mr. Mace offends less in this respect than some writers; it is perhaps true

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also that military events are peculiarly adapted, by virtue of their dramatic quality, to the needs of the young student. Nevertheless, it is believed that thirty-six pages is too much to give to the eight years of the Revolution if there is left only forty-two pages for the twenty-one years of peace between 1760 and 1789. This is better, however, than the proportion given to the Civil War. Sixty-three pages are required to relate the eight years of war between 1789 and 1865, while one hundred and nine suffice for the sixty-eight years of peace. In the second place, it appears that the author's preconception that "men are always struggling to attain great ends" has distorted some portions of his narrative—particularly that of the Revolution. The student will certainly get the idea that the colonists were thoroughly united in their resistance to Great Britain, that they were quite right in their contentions and in their acts, and that there was no other issue involved than that of home rule. That "conciliation fails in England" (p. 154) is emphasized by making the expression the heading of a paragraph. Surely the student should be taught that conciliation failed in America quite as certainly as in England. This is illustrative of a great number of expressions that will leave a mistaken view of the Revolution in the mind of the reader. As usual the Regulator movement in North Carolina is quite misunderstood (p. 147).

CARL BECKER.

Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the Seventeenth Century. By C. Litton Falkiner. With three maps. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1904, pp. xx, 433.) This volume has been prepared in a workmanlike style. It has been Mr. Falkiner's aim, so he states in his preface, "to realise" for himself "the social condition of Ireland at a period singularly pregnant of lasting effects upon her history". Whether Mr. Falkiner has realized this to the full for himself it is impossible to say; but it is beyond question that his handling of the subject on which he has written, and the original papers which he has reproduced and edited, afford excellent opportunities to students of Irish history for realizing many features of Irish life and governmental and social economy in the seventeenth century.

Only one of the papers Mr. Falkiner has written is devoted to Irish rural economy—the history of "The Woods of Ireland". All the others, except the history of the Irish guards and that of the Irish counties, are concerned with the history of Dublin—with the Castle and its place in the governmental economy of Ireland; with Phoenix Park; with the parish church of the Irish Parliament; and the civic and commercial history of the city. In this last group there are histories of the Ballast Office, out of which grew the Port and Docks Board; of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce; and also histories of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, and the remarkable marine society so long known in Dublin waterside traditions as the Ouzel Gallery. These are the papers Mr. Falkiner has written from his own research.

The seventeenth-century treatises on Ireland which Mr. Falkiner has edited cover a much wider field. They include the *Itinerary* of Fynes Moryson, who was secretary to Mountjoy when he was viceroy of Ireland from 1600 to 1603; Sir Josias Bodley's visit to Lecale in 1602; Luke Gernon's "Discourse of Ireland", 1620; Sir William Brereton's travels in Ireland in 1635; and M. Jorevin de Rocheford's (Albert Jouvin, de Rochefort) description of 1668. Several of these papers are not published for the first time. The larger part of Moryson's *Itinerary*—from the manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford—was included in Mr. Charles Hughes's *Shakespeare's Europe*, published in 1903. Luke Gernon's "Discourse of Ireland", however, is from the Stowe Papers in the British Museum, and was never in print before. These papers are of much value for the light they throw on social conditions in Ireland between the end of the reign of Elizabeth and the Revolution of 1688—especially for the insight they afford as to the reasons for the marked social degeneration of the English in Ireland before the Cromwellian settlements.

The notes to these papers are numerous and characterized by scholarly care. There are three maps: of the walls of Dublin; of Ireland in the middle of the sixteenth century; and of Dublin in the seventeenth century. In general Mr. Falkiner must be credited with a volume which will be permanently serviceable to students of Irish history.

EDWARD PORRITT.

The sixth volume of Professor P. J. Blok's *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk* (Groningen, J. B. Wolters, 1904, pp. iii, 595) brings the story from the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702 to the downfall of the republic in 1795. With the same breadth of view as in his earlier volumes, the author deals with every phase of Dutch life—political, social, literary, religious, industrial, commercial. Though he finds in eighteenth-century Holland much more that is sound than have earlier historians, there runs through his narrative that same sense of growing decay which makes the period so painful to all patriotic Netherlanders. To a larger extent than any of its predecessors this volume rests on unpublished sources. There now remains but a single volume of the great work, the seventh, which will deal with the nineteenth century and will be completed during the next two or three years. Many of Professor Blok's readers will meantime have been glad to welcome that volume of miscellaneous historical studies (*Verspreide Studiën op het Gebied der Geschiedenis*), mainly on Dutch topics, which he last year gave to the press.

G. L. BURR.

History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870. By Lewis Preston Summers. (Richmond, Va., J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903, pp. 921.) This is a better book than the ordinary county history. The author has had access to considerable original material. In view of its frontier position and prominence at critical

periods the people of Washington county played an important part in the history of the whole Allegheny region, and so its history is one of exceptional interest. An unfavorable impression of the author's historical training is given by his assertion that "it is a matter of history that the Queen of Spain, to enable Columbus to explore the western seas, sacrificed many of the jewels pertaining to her queenly estate" (p. 20). He claims (p. 8) that he "in nearly every instance has required documentary evidence for all statements made". One wonders if it was such evidence that led to his statements that southwest Virginia was not improbably "the seat of a civilization that would have compared favorably with that of Greece and Rome", and that DeSoto visited Washington county in 1540 (pp. 30, 21). A good deal is said of the Ohio and Loyal land companies without a reference to the Vandalia affair. Considerable space is given to accounts of individual adventures with Indians. The work of the county in the Revolutionary War is well brought out by drawing heavily from Draper's *King's Mountain*. The most valuable part of the work is that bearing on the Civil War. After showing how near Washington county came to union with West Virginia, the author gives an account of the strong support given by the county to the Confederate cause, the name of General Joseph E. Johnston heading the list of officers contributed. G. H. ALDEN.

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society have published the *History of Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and of the Wabash Towns from the British in 1778 and 1779* (Columbus, Ohio, F. J. Heer, 1903, pp. xix, 815), which was among the literary remains of the late Consul Willshire Butterfield. Mr. W. H. Hunter, of Chillicothe, furnishes a laudatory preface, in which he speaks of this history as the most important of all Mr. Butterfield's works; but this estimate is far from being borne out by the facts. Indeed, we must regard the book as showing all of the author's failings—diffuseness, insistence on trifles, lack of historic perspective, undue aggressiveness, and utter disregard of continuity. At the same time it lacks the virtues of his less pretentious works—local color, and intimate acquaintance with the lives and habits of that swarm of second-rate and third-rate personages who figured in the border warfare in the northwest during the Revolution. Butterfield's researches into the life and travels of Nicolet and Brulé are authorities essential to the student of the early history of the northwest; and his *Washington-Crawford Letters*, his *History of the Girtys*, and his *Expedition against Sandusky under Crawford* contain valuable materials, which well repay the labor that must be expended by the reader in order to dig out the facts from the mass of debris. The present volume contains 508 pages of text, and 143 notes occupying nearly 300 additional pages. Often the notes are more important than the text, which is so confused as to be entirely unreadable in the ordinary sense. Moreover, the new material

is so meager that it adds next to nothing of historic value. The cover bears a picture of the capture of Vincennes which is juvenile in the extreme.

CHARLES MOORE.

A Short Constitutional History of the United States. By Francis Newton Thorpe, A.M., Ph.D. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1904, pp. vii, 459.) It is not easy to say any word of truthful commendation concerning this book. It bears evidence of being based on a study of the sources, particularly public documents, and evidently the writer has worked hard and brought many facts together, some of them not easily obtained elsewhere save in his larger works; but there is no distinct indication that the works of other investigators have been pondered, though they may have been. The style is not attractive, though not often very bad; the arrangement is unsatisfactory, and the general method of presentation is not telling; the author's conception of his subject, as in his early volumes on constitutional history, is limited. These faults might be passed over without too serious consideration if the book were accurate in details, and if, with all its apparent weight and sturdiness, it were done with care and circumspection. But there are errors which, it seems, the average author would make only when writing under pressure. There are other errors which one would not expect from any writer of experience. What, for example, can be said of a volume on constitutional history which says (p. 31) that Franklin's persuasive speech did not have the effect of convincing all the members of the Philadelphia Convention, for sixteen members persisted in staying out of the room while the signing was in progress? Such a blunder is primitive. The reviewer does not dare to say how many errors in fact the book contains; certainly there are a good many. To reverse the statement made above: if the style were interesting and enlivening, if the method were strong and forceful, if the work were suggestive and novel, even primitive errors might be forgiven—all writers are prone to error. But as it is, what remains to be said? If, for instance, we pardon the actual errors in the treatment of the Fourteenth Amendment, nothing can be said in favor of the method and manner of exposition; the uninitiated on reading the pages discussing the subject would be hopelessly perplexed.

The Navy Records Society has issued, as its twenty-eighth volume, *Selections from the Correspondence of Admiral John Markham during the years 1801-4 and 1806-7*, edited by Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B. (London, Printed for the Society, 1904, pp. xx, 451.) Admiral Markham, who entered the navy in 1776 and died in 1827, was born in 1761. His father was archbishop of York. Markham served much under St. Vincent. From 1801 to 1826 he sat in Parliament for Portsmouth, and during the administrations of Addington and Lord Grenville he was a lord of the Admiralty. In 1802 he conducted through the Commons the act creating the commission of naval inquiry and after Addington's

fall Markham defended St. Vincent successfully against parliamentary attacks of those who had suffered by the commission's exposures. The present selection is confined to Markham's four and a half years at the Admiralty. It is drawn from originals in the family's possession, and consists of letters, dealing almost exclusively with service details, from St. Vincent, Keith, Saumarez, and others of more or less distinction. An interesting section of fifty-seven letters from Admiral George Murray describes his share in the expedition to La Plata in 1806-1807.

Reminiscences of Peace and War. By Mrs. Roger A. Pryor. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904, pp. xv, 402.) This volume opens with a chapter on "Washington in the Fifties" and closes with "Starting Life Anew". The whole gamut of experience of a woman who lived in the midst of trying and exciting times is run. In addition to this rich experience Mrs. Pryor is a woman of exceptional gifts; and her residence in Washington, her glimpse of things in the neighborhood of Richmond and Norfolk during the war, with her forlorn position in 1864 and 1865, only sharpened her vision. And no one who reads her book will deny that the story is well told.

From a historical point of view Mrs. Pryor's book is valuable for its pictures of social life and manners in Washington and Virginia just prior to secession; and again it adds to our knowledge of conditions in Richmond during the war by giving pictures here and there of President Davis and his many embarrassments (e. g., p. 250). The note of complaint in the Pryor circle against Davis and his management of the war is strong. General D. H. Hill is quoted (p. 284) as saying angrily at Mrs. Pryor's table: "I could forgive mistakes! I cannot forgive lies! I could get along if we could *only, only* ever learn the truth, the real truth." The writer then adds, "he was very personal and used much stronger words than these." A lurking suspicion somehow or other comes into the reader's mind that the Pryors were not satisfied with the tardy promotion which the Confederate authorities gave, and this counteracts the effect of the criticism aimed at Mr. Davis.

What adds again to the value of these reminiscences is the unconventional offhand sketches of Southern and Northern leaders, though they in the main confirm and complete former knowledge. The picture of General Sheridan in Petersburg is rather an exception—his conduct as seen by Mrs. Pryor was certainly unworthy of his high station. The chapter headed "A Winter of Want" (pp. 319-337) is a pathetic picture of a brave woman fighting manfully against insurmountable obstacles. It is an unsurpassed arraignment of war and of men who, excusing themselves with the old fallacy that "all's fair in love and war", wantonly commit crime against the innocent and the helpless.

A not less interesting and comforting feature of the story is the account (all too short) of Roger A. Pryor's reception in New York city after the war, his ready success among men against whom he had

fought for four long years, and his final elevation to the position of chief justice of the greatest state in the north. It is a proof that, despite many facts of a contrary nature, we are not so vindictive as some have thought.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White. (New York, The Century Company, 1905, two vols., pp. xxi, 601; xix, 606.) An autobiography of a man who has played a conspicuous rôle in American life for two generations is of great service to the historian, as well as of general interest. Especially is this the case if, as in this instance, the story is told with candor and simplicity and with a knowledge of the importance of things, if it is written by one who has sane views of life and a deep appreciation of its meaning. Full of entertaining anecdotes and reminiscences, the volumes contain little that the reader can consider trivial. Personal characterizations, references to political issues, discussions of educational, social, and religious questions, are given entertainingly, but are set down without malice, without straining after unnatural effect, and without wearisome iteration. It would be difficult to obtain anywhere else a wiser and more helpful account of American movements during the last fifty years than one gets from these volumes. Even such an episode as the Cardiff Giant imposition, which the author tells with some detail, is seen to have its significance in the history of American life in the last half of the nineteenth century. It is needless to recount the activities of Mr. White's career or to comment at length upon the narrative. A teacher of history at the University of Michigan, president of Cornell, state senator in New York, minister to Russia, and ambassador in Germany, a man of wide learning and a thoughtful student, he saw much, knew many men, and was able to understand his experiences. Some portions—the portrayal of the best Northern sentiment during the Civil War, the work for the Hague Tribunal, the effort to found Cornell University—will be of lasting historical importance. The value of the volumes seems chiefly to arise from the charmingly simple tale of personal experience told by a man of wisdom and insight, a tale told with considerable literary skill. For only unusual talent allows one to write with this utter clearness and air of perfect ease, and to discuss, without appearance of labor, problems of education, protection, and finance, traits of character, and the deeper questionings of the heart. It is withal hard to write of one's life truthfully; even if one's vision does not make distorted images, it is hard to be so thoroughly a master of words that style at no time obscures the exact outline of what one would say. Mr. White seems to have been able to tell his story without even the refraction of ill-chosen words and free from the control of an artificial, impersonal style.

Forty Years of Active Service. By Colonel Charles T. O'Ferrall. (New York and Washington, The Neale Company, 1904, pp. 367.) The author of this volume was an honest soldier and capable officer on the

Southern side during the Civil War; as such he saw service under Mosby and Jackson in the valley of Virginia. His recollections offer many interesting details for the student of the campaigns in that section of Virginia; but they do not add anything of consequence to our general knowledge either of the contest or of the great personalities who played leading rôles.

The chief value of the book is to be found in the second half; which section is again subdivided into two parts: 1. the author's rise to the position of governor of his state, the sharp campaigning incident to this career, and the bitter struggles of Mahone and John S. Wise in their attempt to "carry the state"; 2. his course in the United States House of Representatives from 1880 to 1892.

There is no other work describing Virginia's political life during the Cleveland epoch in so acceptable a manner, and this lends Colonel O'Ferrall's book decided importance. O'Ferrall is known in Virginia as an excellent chief executive and as a politician of very high character. The perfect frankness of the account of himself is refreshing; and his open statement of his ambition to become governor with a description of his management leading to the nomination as Democratic candidate causes the reader the more readily to accept statements and accounts the proof of which is as yet not forthcoming.

In Congress Colonel O'Ferrall was an intimate friend and associate of Speaker Crisp and of William L. Wilson; he was for some time chairman of the committee on elections. Of his services on this committee he speaks as follows (p. 270): "While I had never done violence to my conscience in any case, I fear I was not an entirely cool, calm, and unbiased judge, for I may have been warped to some extent at times by my party sympathies."

Civil Service reformers will read the commendation of Daniel S. Manning (p. 348) with some interest: "He was in full sympathy with the idea of the Democrats that 'to the victors belong the spoils,' and it was not difficult to persuade him that James Jones, Republican postmaster at Spring Creek, should be turned out. . . . In a single day he appointed forty-two postmasters for me, all in about three hours. Whether any other Representative beat that record or not I never learned. In fact, I kept it quiet, for fear other members might complain, and he would go slower with me thereafter. But I made many other fine daily records." One may well question if even a United States Senator could give better account of himself to his constituents. There are many other suggestive side-lights on a Congressman's life and activity, but, for lack of space, attention cannot be called to them. As a commentary on Virginia politics during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the book possesses unquestioned value; and its review of the events of the two Cleveland administrations, with here and there a character-sketch of leading figures, makes it worthy of a place in the literature of the time.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Forty-five Years under the Flag. By Winfield Scott Schley, Rear-Admiral, U. S. N. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1904, pp. xiii, 439.) For the student of naval history Admiral Schley's book has, in greater or less degree, the value which attaches to naval memoirs. It throws less light upon the esoterics and characteristics of naval life than one would wish. In this respect it is greatly excelled by Admiral Robley D. Evans's *Sailor's Log*, possibly for the reason that Evans's book is based upon a very full diary. Admiral Schley's experiences in the opening of Korea in 1871 and in the revolution in Chile twenty years later afford a view of the naval officer acting in a diplomatic capacity. His work as Inspector of Light Houses, Chairman of the Light House Board, Member of the Board of Inspection of the Navy, and Chief of the Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting plainly shows us that, contrary to the popular understanding, the sea officer performs most important duties on land. As commander of the Greely Relief Expedition Admiral Schley rendered efficient and successful service, which justly brought him the commendation of President Arthur and of the whole nation. The three chapters upon this subject are valuable for the history of Arctic exploration. Three other chapters recount the author's employment during the Civil War with Farragut in the Gulf of Mexico and on the Mississippi. More than one-third of the book is concerned with the naval operations off the coast of Cuba during the Spanish-American War and with the unfortunate dispute that arose in regard to them. Admiral Schley says in his preface that he narrates the events of this war from his own point of view. He prints many important documents illustrative of these events.

The style of this book, although it does not reveal a practised hand, is acceptable. One misses the smack of the salty sea which gave such a relish to Admiral Evans's memoirs. The style is objective and unadorned. Admiral Schley has performed the feat of writing his memoirs without once using the first personal pronoun. His substitutes for it, the "writer", "inspector", "commander", and "admiral", may prove confusing to some readers. The index is imperfect.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

Recuerdos de Mi Vida Diplomática: Misión en Estados Unidos (1885-1892). By Vicente G. Quesada. [De los Anales de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, Buenos Aires, 1904, Tomo VI.] (Buenos Aires, Librería de J. Menéndez, 1904, pp. 303.) Señor Quesada's *Recuerdos* is divided into two parts: I. La Sociedad; II. La Cuestión Malvinas. Part I (comprising 155 pages of the 303 of the work) may be said to be a chronicle of the social life of Washington, as he saw it, during his residence as representative of the republic of Argentina (1885-1892). This section of the volume is distinguished by its minute descriptions of the leading figures of the day, social and political. To a considerable extent the story is one of social twaddle, such as a glib tongue might deliver to one ignorant of the usages of this country;

or such as might be recorded in a diary for the edification of an alien audience. Tales of receptions at the White House and at the homes of cabinet officers and wealthy celebrities of the day who flocked to the capital for the season are told in tiresome detail.

Despite this it may be said that his observations on the political tendencies of the country, its contrasts, its apparent weaknesses, are at times tempered with wisdom. Perhaps even more worthy of consideration are the strictures he lays on certain regulations of our society as contrasted with Spanish and continental usage. He is not a little pessimistic over the breaking down of the family (p. 40). He also notes the growing struggle between capital and labor and offers some observations which, inasmuch as he is distinguished in social dynamics and widely traveled, may not be without value.

Part II redeems the publication. But for this question Señor Quesada's mission would have been a diplomatic desert. Fifty-two pages are given to a recital of the case against the United States arising out of the attack of the sloop of war *Lexington* on an armed vessel flying the flag of Argentina—an attack committed in 1831, but which had never been settled to the satisfaction of the South American republic. At the bottom of the affair lay the determining of the status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and here Dr. Quesada presents a strong case, marshaling a deal of data to prove that they were Argentina's both by tradition and occupation.

There are ninety-four pages of documents which the student of South American history will welcome. There is no index, which is regrettable; it is likewise regrettable that he should have been careless in his spelling of English terms, many of which besprinkle his pages.

W. F. McCaleb.

The series of sixteen volumes by Archer Butler Hulbert closes with a volume of reprinted essays and addresses on *The Future of Road-making in America*. (Cleveland, A. H. Clark Company, 1905, pp. 211.) A stretch of imagination is required to justify the introduction of the volume in a "historic" series. So ends an undertaking which promised from its title to be a historic "find". It is well done in places, but from the narrow geographic limits assigned to its examination of highways and from its "padding" by reprinting it causes a feeling of disappointment that the enterprise has come off so poorly and regret that much money has been expended and large library space taken with small profit.

E. E. S.

COMMUNICATION

THE PHILIPPINE "SITUADO" FROM THE TREASURY OF NEW SPAIN

THE array of data upon the above subject presented by Professor Edward G. Bourne in his communication printed in the January number of the REVIEW (X, 459-461) was most interesting, and unquestionably points to the correctness of the assertion generally made by historians and other writers, to the effect that there was always a deficit in the Philippine treasury prior to the nineteenth century—an assertion which, indeed, derives weight of authority from the very fact that it is made with such uniformity by these writers. I did not wish to challenge this assertion, as I think Professor Bourne has recognized, but simply to call attention to the challenge regarding its accuracy made by Govantes, and apparently passed by Pardo de Tavera in his *Biblioteca*. Nevertheless, I am still not quite satisfied that we can feel sure of having got to the bottom of the matter.

Of the authorities cited by Professor Bourne, I do not possess, and hence, at my distance from a consulting library, do not have access to, the *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias, América y Oceanía*, nor to Concepcion, Delgado, and Le Gentil. Foreman is so loose and inaccurate throughout his writings, almost always failing to give credit and often mixing in his own assertions with the abstracted statements of early writers, especially Concepcion, that he is utterly worthless as an authority, unless checked at every step with the sources from which he has drawn. Humboldt is, of course, a writer of a different sort, and great weight must be given to whatever he said. It is to be noted, however, that Humboldt never visited the Philippines, and never wrote with a view directly to setting forth the situation of those islands; but only touched upon them in their relations with the American colonies of Spain, and especially with Mexico. Before assigning any special weight to Humboldt's statements with regard to the subsidy of the Philippine government (except for what his statements of fact are worth upon their face), we should need to know that he had made some special investigation of the peculiar relations existing between the treasury of Mexico and that of the Philippines, and particularly the regulations governing the trade between the two possessions. There is no evidence that Humboldt ever investigated this subject. He has simply taken the average amount sent from the Mexican treasury to that of the Philippines during five of the closing years of the eighteenth century, and put this sum in his tables as the annual charge upon Mexico caused by the Philippines.

If one could regard the case as entirely proved for the contention

of Professor Bourne that the import duties collected at Acapulco on the goods brought in the galleons from Manila were never covered into the treasury of Mexico, but were held as a separate credit for the Philippines, we could feel more sure of our ground in arguing from the statements of Concepcion, Humboldt, and others. But the very reading of the decree of 1606 upon this subject which is given by Professor Bourne in the communication above referred to seems to me to make it perfectly clear that the amount of these duties was to be deducted in Mexico from the sum sent for the support of Spanish enterprises dependent upon Manila as their fitting-out point. A reference to the original text of this decree (*Leyes de Indias*, lib. IX, tit. 45, ley 65) the more strongly confirms this view. The issue presented as to whether this money "was covered into" the treasury of Mexico is rather one of bookkeeping than of anything else. As between 1606, the date of this decree (which, like many of its contemporaries, may never have been effectively put in force in just the precise way in which it was meant), and the end of the eighteenth century, about which Humboldt was writing in Mexico, methods of accounting may have been modified a dozen times, and it would be unsafe to rely upon this 1606 decree as a link in any chain of argument regarding the subsidy during the two succeeding centuries. Certainly, we have the categorical statement of Hernando de los Rios Coronel (in his *Memorial y Relación*, reprinted in translation in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, XIX, 183-297), who had been for some years prior to 1621 procurator-general of the Philippine Islands, that the twelve per cent. collected on the merchandise sent to Acapulco "enters into the royal treasury of Mexico" (*ibid.*, 250). Valuing the cargoes annually so shipped at 500,000 pesos, the legal maximum, we have duties of 60,000 pesos as a credit against the amount sent from Mexico to Manila, aside from the *alcabalas* and other credits mentioned by Professor Bourne himself. The royal orders were that the cargoes should be valued and the duties collected, not at Acapulco, but at Mexico city, and the presumption as to the course followed in disposing of this money is rendered stronger by the absence of the entry upon the books of the Philippine treasury of a special item covering the amount collected for such duties at Acapulco and expended in Mexico for supplies, etc., for the Philippines.

It is to be remembered also that only in exceptional years was the cargo of these galleons limited to the amount specified by law; instead, it amounted commonly to 1,000,000 pesos and often to 2,000,000. If duties were proportionately collected, though only for a portion of the illegal excess, the credit in favor of the Philippine treasury would considerably increase. The whole trade-throttling system of Spain only indicates that it is hard to make any unqualified assertions as to the matter of the cost to Spain of her colonies or the profit reaped from them. This, of course, is the really substantial question underlying this

point in colonial bookkeeping. The Philippines were kept so far as possible tied to the apron-strings of Mexico, until the latter country struck out an independent course; and, even supposing that the ordinary view of the subsidy is in all respects correct, we have to make due allowance for the gains reaped, legally or illegally, through Mexico's monopoly of the trade passing through Manila. The abolition of the line of galleons, instead of working the ruin of Manila, increased its exportations of native goods sevenfold between 1816 and 1840, according to Sinibaldo de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, Tomo II, Comercio exterior, 27. As to the nineteenth century, there is no dispute whatever that the Philippines paid their own way and more. They supported Spain's entire naval force in the Orient, as well as her diplomatic and consular representatives, and paid a part of the pensions to the descendants of Columbus and others. To be sure, during a large part of the nineteenth century the chief source of revenue was the tobacco monopoly; but after its abolition the revenues under a scheme of government somewhat better organized, from an economical point of view, were progressively greater each year up to 1897.

In weighing this question in its broader aspects, one must take into account not only the monopolistic trade regulations, but also the fact that in all the early years of Spanish rule the money sent to Manila or raised there by taxation was in large part spent, not for the maintenance of government in the islands themselves, but for the conduct of Spanish plans for conquest elsewhere in the Orient. Manila was but the fitting-out point for such expeditions, as it was, under the old economic régime, merely a trade-depot for the products of countries other than the Philippines; and the money thus spent, though to be regarded as in a degree a means of protection to the Philippines, is in the main to be regarded as spent in behalf directly of Spain herself, and for the benefit of her home people, whether wisely or unwisely so spent. The Coronel memorial above cited (*The Philippine Islands*, XIX, 292-296) shows in the early years of the seventeenth century an annual expenditure of over 200,000 pesos in the Moluccas, which were producing practically nothing to Spain, and this sum did not include the forced labor of Philippine natives in building ships, the materials gathered for such ships, the casting of artillery, etc., in the Philippines from 1606 onward, amounting, says Coronel, if paid for at proper rates, to millions. So the figures presented by Pedro de Caldierva de Mariaca (*ibid.*, XIV, 243-269), showing an annual deficit of 135,000 in the Philippine treasury, show also that most of the expenditures were for ship-building and conquest. Obviously, to charge the Philippines with having been a drain upon Spain's resources in those early years, because they did not provide money for the conduct of plans of conquest in the East Indies generally, aside from the men, materials, soldiers, and supplies which they did furnish, in large part without pay, would be entirely unfair.

In later years, after the encomiendas were abolished, and the missions and all internal plans of government had to be supported by the treasury at Manila, while on the other hand the government collected the entire product of the tributes from the inhabitants, there was still, so far as the weight of authority goes, a deficit. But there were also credits of one sort and another to be taken into account. For instance, the missions in China and elsewhere in the Orient were, at least during a certain period, supported from the Philippine treasury, as later Spain's diplomatic representation in the Orient was so maintained.

Bowring, in his *Philippine Islands* (London, 1859, pp. 98-99), says that "the Philippines have made, and continue to make, large contributions to the mother country, generally in excess of the stipulated amount which is called the *situado*". Bowring, it may be, learned of the remittances to Spain from the products of the tobacco monopoly (mostly in the form of leaf-tobacco or cigarettes) during the nineteenth century, and did not mean to speak of the state of affairs prior to the nineteenth century. Still, his categorical statement will invite investigation. The matter is one, it seems to me, which cannot be regarded as closed until we have more specific data than any of the careless Spanish writers (and the early writers in Philippine history are all careless, differing only in degree in this respect) have so far given us.

JAMES A. LE ROY.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL.

Dr. Hermann Hueffer, long professor of the history of law at the University of Bonn, and author of various historical works on the period from 1792 to 1802, died in March, at the age of seventy-four. In the preceding month occurred the death of Dr. Bruno Gebhardt, author of the well-known manual of German history.

Henry Van Ness Boynton, a prominent citizen of Washington, breveted brigadier-general for gallantry at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, died in June. General Boynton was the author of a volume on *Sherman's Historical Raid*, and was a frequent contributor on historical subjects to numerous periodicals.

Bernard Monod, son of the well-known historical scholar, Gabriel Monod, died in January, on the very eve of a promising career as a student and writer of history. Though not quite twenty-six he had already done considerable writing, notably, besides a thesis on the relations of Pascal II with Philip I and Louis VI of France, a small volume on *Le Moine Guibert et son Temps (1053-1124)*.

A service in memory of Annah May Soule, late Professor of American history and political economy at Mt. Holyoke College, was held in the college chapel, South Hadley, Massachusetts, on Monday, March 20. Miss Soule was graduated from the University of Michigan, but through several years of valued service became thoroughly identified with the college that has just honored her memory. Her death occurred March 17.

An important change in the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution will take place in the fall. Professor A. C. McLaughlin, who has been at the head of the Bureau for the first two years of its existence, will return to the University of Michigan to take up his academic work, and Professor J. F. Jameson, who has resigned his chair at the University of Chicago, will come to Washington to assume the directorship of the Bureau. A number of important undertakings are under way. The bibliography of *Writings on American History, 1903*, is now in press and will be issued in the immediate future. The examination of American material in foreign archives, commenced last year, is being carried on and its scope has been somewhat enlarged. Professor Andrews, whose preliminary report on the British archives appeared in the January number of the REVIEW, is now in London continuing his investigations, the results of which may be expected to appear in the form of a full report in about a year. In connection with

this report will be published a complete list of all the transcripts from the English archives that have been printed, and a calendar of those that are to be found in this country in manuscript. The list of printed transcripts is already nearly completed and the calendar of manuscript transcripts is well under way. An examination of the Spanish archives has been commenced this summer by Professor William R. Shepherd, while Mr. Luis M. Pérez is at work on an investigation of the material in Cuba. During the past winter and spring Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Bureau, has been in Virginia and North and South Carolina examining and listing the manuscript collections of historical societies, locating private collections of manuscripts, and calendaring transcripts from foreign archives. This work will be continued in the fall and winter in the farther south, and it is hoped that in the course of time a general report on the manuscript sources for American history may be prepared. Another piece of work in which a beginning has been made is the collection of transcripts of letters from delegates to the Continental Congress. A number of unprinted letters have been found in Virginia and North Carolina, and the search will be continued in all of the original states. Finally, the federal archives in Washington have received considerable attention. The Revolutionary material in the Pension Office has been examined and calendared, the Schoolcraft papers in the Smithsonian Institution have been examined, and investigations in the State Department have been continued.

Princeton University has chosen the following new preceptors in history and politics with the rank of assistant-professors: E. L. Bogert, Oberlin; C. H. McIlwain, Miami; Royal Meeker, Wisconsin; E. S. Corwin, Michigan.

Professor A. L. P. Dennis of the University of Chicago has accepted the chair of modern history in the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., until recently secretary of the South Carolina Historical Society, has been appointed secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission. All the archives of the state offices, with the exception of those in current use, have been placed in his charge, and rooms in the capitol at Columbia are being fitted with metal cases and cabinets for the filing of the manuscripts. Much valuable material has been lost from the South Carolina archives of late years, and that body of records has been in a most deplorable condition. It is fortunate that the legislature has at last awakened to the importance of caring properly for the records of the state, and equally fortunate that the services of Mr. Salley, in caring for them, could be secured.

An analytical index to the first ten volumes of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, to be compiled by Mr. David M. Matteson, will be published as soon as possible. It will be issued as a separate number of the *REVIEW*, and will be placed on sale.

A new undertaking which will be of interest to university teachers of history is planned by Harvard. A summer camp for Harvard history students is to be opened in June at Squam Lake, near Ashland, New Hampshire, in connection with the Harvard engineering camp. The camp as a whole is to be in charge of Professor H. J. Hughes, the history work is to be in charge of Mr. R. M. Johnston. Only such students as have attained a satisfactory grade in their studies will be qualified for admission. There will be no regular lectures, and students will be masters of their own time, but there will be informal conferences and discussions on the larger aspects of history, or on such questions as may arise from the students' reading, in which they will be directed and assisted. A library and facilities for study will be provided. The benefit which the student acquires is intended to be in the direction of maturing and broadening his knowledge by reading and discussion not bearing directly upon his college courses. If, however, the reading done is of a satisfactory character, students intending to take a degree with distinction in history may be credited with it.

The beginning of the year saw the revival by William Abbott, of New York, of the old *Magazine of American History*, so intimately associated with the name of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. The new periodical takes a slightly different name: *The Magazine of History; With Notes and Queries*.

The ceremonies attendant upon the dedication of the new building of the John Carter Brown library have been attractively printed. The volume contains the address of Mr. William Vail Kellen on the library and the address by Professor F. J. Turner, entitled "The Historical Library in the University".

The latest addition to the English Men of Letters Series is Harry Thurston Peck's *William Hickling Prescott*, a volume seemingly of no distinctive merit. The author, in his statement that "the poise, judgment and distinction" of Prescott "places him at the head of all American historians", accepts the view of Dr. C. K. Adams.

The papers of the historian Michelet, including a voluminous correspondence, were intrusted, after the death of Madame Michelet in 1899, to M. Gabriel Monod. From them chiefly M. Monod is now preparing a biography of Michelet; and he also has in view a complete edition of his correspondence.

The paper on the degree of doctor of philosophy, which was read by Professor George B. Adams at the meeting of the American Historical Association last December, appears, considerably amplified, in the June number of the *Educational Review*.

Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning (Cambridge University Press, 1905, pp. xv, 212), by J. E. Sandys, is a readable and scholarly work, which the author hopes may serve as a convenient sequel to his

earlier publication on *The History of Classical Scholarship to the End of the Middle Ages*. It deals, therefore, chiefly with those aspects of the Revival which relate to the recovery of the Latin classics and the renewed interest in their study.

Dr. Enno Littmann has prepared *A List of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library* (Princeton University, 1904, pp. 84), which is in fact simply a supplementary list of 355 manuscripts in the Garrett deposit of Oriental manuscripts in the Princeton University Library and contains only Arabic additions—and not all of those—not included in Houtsma's *Catalogue d'une Collection de Manuscrits Arabes et Turcs*. Dr. Littmann is engaged upon a careful descriptive catalogue of the whole collection.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company announce for immediate publication the first volume of *A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe*, by David J. Hill, United States Minister to Switzerland. There are to be six volumes in all. The first has the title of "The Struggle for Universal Empire", and together with the second, on "The Establishment of Territorial Sovereignty", may be regarded as indicating the foundations of modern diplomacy. It is intended in the other volumes to consider the diplomacy of the "Age of Absolutism", of the "Revolutionary Era", of the "Constitutional Movement", and of "Commercial Imperialism".

It is announced that Mr. Herbert Paul, the third volume of whose *Modern England* appeared lately, is engaged upon a biography of James Anthony Froude.

A Short History of Citizenship (London, Elliot Stock, 1904), by H. Osman Newland, is a very condensed account, beginning with citizenship among the Greeks.

Lieutenant-Colonel William R. Livermore, of New York, has been engaged for a number of years on a rather exhaustive *Historical Atlas of Europe*, and now has it so far along that he hopes it may be published within the next two or three years. He aims to show by a series of maps, usually one for each decade, all the political changes that can be represented on a scale of 1:7,000,000. He has three maps for the period from 1500 to 800 B. C., then one for every fifty years down to 550 B. C., and from 520 B. C., one for every ten years, down to 1900 A. D. Such work requires much labor and endless patience and pains, but once well done it should prove of lasting service.

Among the recent publications of the Oxford University Press is *Origines Islandicae*: a collection of the more important sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland, edited and translated by G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell, in two volumes.

Number 3 of volume X of the *Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology, and Education* is devoted to an essay which

aims to make more clear, at least to English-speaking people, the antithesis between history and the natural sciences—an antithesis which, as the writer says, is maintained in Germany and France much more commonly than here or in England: *The Concept Action in History and in the Natural Sciences*, by Percy Hughes. Action as contrasted with law is the central theme of the essay, its thesis being that to describe the content and purpose of historical construction the concept action is fully adequate.

The house of A. Colin, which published the *Histoire Générale* edited by Lavissee and Rambaud, has now undertaken a work of similar features on the history of art: *Histoire de l'Art depuis les Premiers Temps Chrétiens jusqu'à nos Jours*, edited by André Michel. It is planned to form eight volumes; and it will be published by fascicles, of which at least three have already appeared.

The *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for April opens with an article on the bounds of history: "Die Grenzen der Geschichte: ein programmatischer Versuch", by a philologist, O. Dittrich. In this same general field belongs the inaugural address of A. Cartellieri as professor of history at Jena: *Über Wesen und Gliederung der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, Dyksche Buchhandlung, 1905, pp. 32).

The most noteworthy contents of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* for February comprise: an article on "Condorcet, ses Idées et son Rôle Politique", by H. Sée; the beginning of a general review of work done upon the economic history of the French Revolution, "France (Révolution Française, 1789-1804) (Les Sources)", by P. Boissonnade; and a continuation of R. Pichon's general review of work on the history of Latin literature, which was begun in the December number.

Present circumstances in the Far East and the problems developing there render timely the appearance of a seventh edition, revised and enlarged, of the well-known work of William Elliot Griffis on *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. xxvii, 502). The most noteworthy change in this new edition is the addition of four fresh chapters, treating respectively of the economic condition of Corea, its internal politics, the war of 1894, and Japan and Russia in conflict. The account is thus carried down to the year 1904.

Alleyne Ireland has gathered together two series of periodical contributions in *The Far Eastern Tropics*, recently issued from the press of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. The four chapters which deal with the Philippines are of especial interest in this volume, because associated with chapters on other eastern colonies, thus giving a chance for some comparative study.

Many students of history will welcome a recent bibliographical undertaking covering the fields of the various social sciences: *Kritische Blätter für die gesamten Sozialwissenschaften*, edited by three German scholars, Beck and Spann of Berlin and Dorn of Munich, and published

through O. V. Böhmert in Dresden. The plan includes, first, a list of current books and articles—this list to be complete at least for all German channels of publication; and second, a department devoted to accounts and criticisms of the more important pieces. The first number was announced for last February.

General John Watts de Peyster has given to the Smithsonian Institution a collection, numbering over two thousand titles, of books, pamphlets, and maps relating to Napoleon Bonaparte, and representing years of careful selection. The Institution has carefully arranged the collection in its halls and hopes ere long to publish a complete card-catalogue.

Gossipy home letters, written by a woman who saw much of royalty, the papal court, and personages generally worth meeting, are published by Scribners under the title *Italian Letters of a Diplomat's Wife*. The wife and widow of M. William Henry Waddington, Mary King Waddington, is the author, and the letters reflect impressions on two visits twenty years apart, the first visit being in 1880.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

The lectures delivered in America last year by Dr. J. P. Mahaffy are now published: *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press).

In *A Grammar of Greek Art* (New York, Macmillan, 1905, pp. xii, 267) Professor Percy Gardner has tried to solve the "urgent problem how best an elementary study of Greek art may be made a part of general classical culture and put on terms with the study of Greek and Roman literature and history". He endeavors to explain, for the aid particularly of classical teachers in schools, what are the main principles of Greek art and what are its relations to literature.

Corrections of various errors, and more especially additions to bibliographies, are supplied in a supplement to the third edition of R. Cagnat's manual of Latin epigraphy: *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine: Supplément à la Troisième Édition* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1904, pp. 473-505).

An English translation of the work of the Italian scholar, G. Negri, on Julian the Apostate is announced for early publication in London (Unwin). One of the principal themes in this work is the struggle between Christianity and paganism in Julian's time.

Under the title of *The Historic Martyrs of the Primitive Church*, Reverend A. J. Mason, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has given in English such records as those of St. Polycarp and the martyrs of Lyons, St. Perpetua and St. Cyprian, the martyrs of Palestine under Diocletian, and the less-known stories of Pionius, Montanus, and others (Longmans). Relating to the same period is *The Church's Task under*

the Roman Empire, by Reverend C. Bigg (Oxford University Press). The subjects dealt with in this work include education, religion, and moral and social conditions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Callewaert, *Questions de Droit concernant le Procès du Martyr Apollonius* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); W. Warde Fowler, *Notes on Gaius Gracchus*. Part I (English Historical Review, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

A Source Book for Mediæval History, by Professor O. J. Thatcher, of the University of Chicago, and Dr. E. H. McNeal, of Ohio State University, has just appeared, through Scribners. It gives in all 325 selections, mainly from charters rather than the chroniclers; and these apply to the period down to 1500, but with France and England omitted. The editors hope to atone soon for their omission of France by publishing a small collection relating exclusively to France.

The doctoral theses of E. C. Babut, on the Council of Turin, which were published last year at Paris, have led to a serious discussion between their author and Abbé Duchesne. The discussion centers chiefly about the date of the council, since the acceptance of the year proposed by Dr. Babut, 417, has an important bearing on the history of the development of papal authority in the fifth century. Abbé Duchesne sets forth his views in the *Revue Historique* for March-April, and Dr. Babut replies in the same periodical for May-June. It may be added that the theses out of which this discussion has grown were but by-products, connected with a large work which their author has in hand on St. Martin and the conflict between ascetic and worldly currents in the church of the fourth century.

Among the more interesting current announcements is a two-volume work on Gregory the Great: *Gregory the Great: His Place in History and Thought*, by F. Homes Dudden (Longmans).

The new edition of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, which is now more than well begun, is to be accompanied by a publication similar to that (*Archiv* of Pertz, later *Neues Archiv*, etc.) which has long served as a complement to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. It will be issued under the revived title of *Archivio Muratoriano*, will set forth the results of studies carried on in the preparing of the new Muratori, will appear, at least at first, only as occasion demands, and in fascicles of varying heft and price, and will be edited by Vittorio Fiorini. Two numbers are published so far, the first containing the editor's survey of preparatory studies, which was communicated to the International Historical Congress at Rome in 1903; and the second, articles, by M. Vattasso and others, on manuscripts utilized for some of the new editions.

We should have mentioned before, our receipt of the tenth fascicle of "Opuscles de Critique Historique", which is devoted to a careful ex-

amination, by M. Paul Sabatier, of recent works by Lemmens, Boehmer and Goetz: *Examen de Quelques Travaux Récents sur les Opuscules de Saint François* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1904, pp. 48).

Dr. James Sullivan has among the "Notes and Documents" of the April number of the *English Historical Review* an article on "The Manuscripts and Date of Marsiglio of Padua's 'Defensor Pacis'". He tells, for one thing, of his discovery of a new work of Marsiglio, entitled *Defensor Pacis Minor*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Jordan, *Materialien zur Geschichte der arabischen Zahlzeichen in Frankreich* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, III, 2); H. Freytag, *Preussische Jerusalem-pilger vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, III, 2); H. Wopfner, *Freie und unfreie Leihen im späteren Mittelalter* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Social-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, III, 1); N. Valois, *Concordats Antérieurs à Celui de François 1^{er} Pontificate de Martin V* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); A. Poncelet, *Les Saints de Micy* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXIV, 1).

MODERN HISTORY.

Present circumstances will no doubt give an added interest to Mr. R. Nisbet Bain's *The First Romanovs (1613-1725)*: a history of Muscovite civilization and the rise of modern Russia under Peter the Great and his forerunners (London, Constable).

Mr. H. B. George has edited, for the Oxford University Press, Thiers's account of Napoleon's Moscow expedition, from the fourteenth volume of the *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. The great length of the original work repels all but professed students of history, and they avoid it for other reasons. Yet the work has great literary merits. It has been thought that at least the more unified and complete parts of it might be rendered useful by being carefully edited and published separately. So it happened that the account of the Waterloo campaign came out a number of years ago, under the care of E. E. Bowen. Mr. George finds it necessary to accompany the *Moscow Expedition*, whose text occupies 258 crown octavo pages, with fifty pages of notes. In this way, however, he certainly increases the trustworthiness of an exceedingly dramatic bit of historical writing.

Napoleon: The First Phase. Some Chapters on the Boyhood and Youth of Bonaparte: 1769-1793, by Oscar Browning, is a forthcoming publication of John Lane.

An account of Napoleon in his relations with Italy was begun in the May-June number of the *Revue Historique*: "Napoléon 1^{er} et l'Italie". It will comprise three parts, relating respectively to "Bonaparte et la République Cisalpine", "Bonaparte et la République Italienne", and "Napoléon Roi d'Italie".

Some four years ago Mr. F. P. Badham published a pamphlet on *Nelson at Naples*, in which he took positions concerning Nelson's part in

the extraction of the Republican garrisons of Naples, on June 26, 1799, that have attracted severe attack from several quarters. Latterly he has returned to the problem, discussing it in the light of new evidence: *Nelson and Ruffo* (London, Finch, 1905, pp. 54).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Hauser, *De quelques Sources de l'Histoire des premières Guerres d'Italie* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, February); C. H. Firth, *Blake and the Battle of Santa Cruz* (English Historical Review, April); W. Köhler, *Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen von Hessen* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 3); H. Froideveaux, *Le Commerce Français à Madagascar au XVII^e Siècle* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, III, 1); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Question in 1717*. Part II (English Historical Review, April); L. Maury, *Les Comtesses de la Marck et de Boufflers et Gustave III, d'après les Correspondances Conservées à Upsal* (Revue Historique, March and May); O. Hintze, *Stein und der Preussische Staat* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIV, 3); M. de Germiny, *Frédéric-Auguste devant Napoléon, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Aus den Tagen des 17. und 18. Juni 1815* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, April); J. K. Kochanowski, *Le Développement de l'Historiographie Polonaise dans la Seconde Moitié du XIX^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, March); Lady Blennerhasset, *Lord Acton (1834-1902)* (Deutsche Rundschau, January).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

We note the appearance of *Essentials in English History, from the Earliest Records to the Present Day* (New York: American Book Company, 1905, pp. xlii, 550), by Albert Perry Walker.

Father Gasquet, who is known especially by his books on *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries* and *The Eve of the Reformation*, has now in the press a considerable work on Henry III, with special reference to his ecclesiastical policy and his relations with Rome (London, Bell).

A History of the Manors of Suffolk, by W. A. Copping, in which the account of each manor will usually begin with Domesday, is announced by Unwin, London. It will occupy seven volumes.

The Cambridge University Press has agreed to undertake the publication of Miss Frances G. Davenport's Chicago thesis on "The Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor" (Forncett).

The Friends' Historical Society in England—which was organized only recently, with the well-known historian Thomas Hodgkin as president—has issued the first five "Journal Supplements", in which it is printing a hitherto unpublished history of the seventeenth-century Quakers, under the title of *The First Publishers of Truth* (London, Headley Brothers, 14, Bishopsgate Street, Without, and Philadelphia, American Friend Office, 718 Arch Street). This history is in the form of accounts compiled by or for the meetings of Quakers in the various

counties in England and Wales and sent to London Yearly Meeting early in the eighteenth century. The accounts are being edited with annotations by Mr. Norman Penney, Librarian of the Friends' Reference Library at Devonshire House. They throw light alike on the origin of an important religious movement in England and on various aspects of the life of the early Friends, such as their social status, occupations, education, and manner of life in general.

A short biography of William Pitt, naturally with special reference to his rôle in public life, was lately added to the "English Statesmen" series: *Chatham*, by Frederic Harrison (Macmillan).

Four lectures on *The British Army (1783-1802)*, delivered by J. W. Fortescue at the Staff College and Cavalry School, have been published by Macmillan.

Under the title *Colonial Nationalism*, Mr. Richard Jebb has concealed a number of essays bearing, more or less immediately, on the relations of England's self-governing colonies to the mother-country. The first essay, "The Canadian Hegemony", discusses the national sentiment of Canada, and declares that there is no danger of union with the United States, if for no other reason, because Americans and Canadians are so different in temperament: "For example, alike upon the football field and in the international court, the Englishman calls a 'foul' where the American applauds a 'smart' play". When Americans are in general so boastful, bombastic, and brutal, it would certainly be a sad step backward in civilization, if Canada should have too much to do with her southern neighbor. The chapters on the Alaskan boundary give the author's belief that Canada was sacrificed by England to a mawkish sentiment of friendship for the United States. Other chapters deal with Australia, the South African War, and the colonial conference of 1902, and kindred subjects, and may be of some value (London, Arnold, 1905, pp. xv, 336).

Dr. Frederic Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*, first published in 1895, has appeared in a second edition (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904, pp. xlv, 238). It will be recalled that this study was designed to introduce a wider inquiry, in which other tribal systems besides the Welsh would be included; and that we have had at least part of the results of this more extended inquiry in a volume on *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*. In now reissuing his first study Dr. Seebohm has left the text without material revision, but has preceded it with a note entitled "On the Unit of Family Holding under Early Tribal Customs", in which he discusses the chief points upon which fresh light may have been thrown back upon the Welsh tribal system from his later studies of Germanic tribal custom.

Many works are now appearing on John Knox, this year being the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth. The most important of them so far is one by Andrew Lang: *John Knox and the Reformation* (Long-

mans). It would seem from the announcements of it that it is not likely to be any too kindly received by those who think of Knox only as of a saint.

The School of Irish Learning, which held its first session in 1903, has realized its purpose of starting a periodical devoted to Irish philology, literature, and history. This periodical is called *Ériu*, is edited by Professors Kuno Meyer and John Stachan, and may be subscribed for with the Secretary of the School, 28 Clare Street, Dublin.

The Life of St. Patrick and his Place in History, by Professor Bury, is announced to appear shortly, through Macmillan.

FRANCE.

A considerable study relating to the history of humanism during the reign of Francis I occupies the fourth fascicle of the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne*: "Jacques Colin, Abbé de Saint-Ambroise (14 ?-1547)", by V. L. Bourilly. Also of interest on the same period is this writer's recently published doctoral thesis on Guillaume du Bellay (Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition). It may be added that M. Bourilly is preparing an edition of political correspondence of Jean du Bellay and will draw upon it for a biography of this personage.

Among the more important recent publications is an English account of Catherine de'Medici and her relations to the Reformation in France: *Catherine de'Medici and the French Reformation*, by Edith Sichel (London, Constable).

With the publication of *Histoire Graphique de l'Ancienne Province de Languedoc*, by E. Roschach, the new edition of the Devic-Vaissette *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* is brought to completion (Toulouse, E. Privat). The sixteen quarto volumes of this work have been long in the making, but they will be long useful.

The service rendered to all serious students of modern French history by the *Répertoire Méthodique de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France* is extended, by the fifth fascicle of that publication, through the year 1902. The divisions on history of the sciences, literature, and art are however omitted, but will reappear in the fascicle for 1903 (which by this time is possibly already issued) and will there include the matter for both 1902 and 1903. One improvement is especially noteworthy: the titles of books published in 1902 are accompanied by mention not only of critical reviews appearing in the same year but also of those appearing in the following year. Since trustworthy reviews are frequently somewhat tardy this arrangement should prove an important convenience (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1904, pp. xxxvi, 255).

A handy concordance of the Republican and Gregorian calendars was issued recently under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire Moderne: *Concordance des Calendriers Républicain et Grégorien*, by P. Caron, a small octavo of fifty-nine pages (Paris, Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition).

An account of the plans of the commission on documents relating to the economic life of the Revolution, and of what has been done so far toward carrying out those plans, is given in the March number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*.

The University of Chicago Press has published, in a pamphlet of forty-five pages, an English translation of the address delivered by Professor Langlois at the University of Chicago last October: *The Historic Rôle of France among the Nations*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Mirot, *Le Rétablissement des Impositions et les Émeutes Urbaines en 1382* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); B. de Mandrot, *Le Meurtre de Jean Berry, Secrétaire de Jean, Duc de Bourbon (1488)* (*Revue Historique*, March); A. P. Usher, *The French Corn Laws during the Period of Local Control, 1515-1660* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May); H. See, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e Siècle à la Révolution* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, February); E. Bourgeois, *La Collaboration de Saint-Simon et de Torcy. Étude Critique sur les Mémoires de Saint-Simon* (*Revue Historique*, March); A. de Maricourt, *Un Intendant de Corse sous Louis XV. Daniel-Marc-Antoine Chardon et sa Famille (1731-1805)* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); R. Guyot et F. Thénard, *Le Conventionnel Goujon. First Article* (*Revue Historique*, May); A. Mater, *L'Histoire d'une Paroisse au XIX^e Siècle sous le Régime du Concordat. Paroisse de Bancafort, Cher* (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, April and May).

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, BOHEMIA.

The Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has established another series of publications: *Bibliothek des königlichen preussischen historischen Instituts in Rom*, in which will be published such matter as cannot be given a place in its *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* or in collections like its *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*. The first volume of the new *Bibliothek* is given to "Die Kaiserinnengräber in Andria", a contribution to the history of art in Apulia under Frederick II, by A. Haseloff. Two other volumes are promised for this year: "Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess", by P. Kalkoff, and "Forschungen über die apostolische Pönitentiarie, ihre Statuten und ihre Geschäftspraxis vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert", by E. Göller.

A second volume of T. Sommerlad's work on the economic history of the church in Germany is among the newer books: *Die wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche im Deutschland . . . in der Zeit des erwachenden Staatsgedankens bis zum Ankommen der Geldwirtschaft*. The first volume, which appeared five years ago, came down to Charlemagne (Leipzig, Weber).

The first volume of a history of Germany at the end of the middle ages, by V. von Kraus, was published recently, in the "Bibliothek

deutscher Geschichte" of Zwiedeneck-Südenhorst: *Deutsche Geschichte im Ausgange des Mittelalters (1438-1519)*. The period covered in this first volume is that of the reigns of Albert II and Frederick III (Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta).

A collection of important material on the history of Prussia in the first half of the eighteenth century has been made available by the publication of the letters of Frederick William I to Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau: *Die Briefe König Friedrich Wilhelms I. an Fürsten Leopold zu Anhalt-Dessau, 1704-1740*, edited by O. Krauske (Berlin, Parey).

A three-volume French account of Bismarck, by P. Matter, has begun to appear at Paris, through F. Alcan: *Bismarck et son Temps*. The first volume treats of "La Préparation", from 1815 to 1862; the second will set forth "L'Action de Bismarck (1862-1871)" and the third, "Le Triomphe et le Déclin (1871-1898)".

The Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève publishes, in the second livraison of the eighth volume (new series) of its *Mémoires et Documents*, a reimpression, after the edition of 1603, of the "Histoire de la Supervenue Inopinée des Savoyards en la Ville de Genève en la Nuit du Dimanche 12. Jour. de Décembre 1602" by Melchior Goldast, with an introductory study of some length by F. Gardy. Also, in the same livraison, it publishes a considerable study, from unpublished documents, upon Philibert Blondel: "Le Syndic Philibert Blondel (1555-1606). Étude sur sa Vie et son Procès", by E. Chatelan. It may be noted here, too, that the *Bulletin* issued by this same society has reached the close of its second volume. The current livraison, no. 9, contains in the way of matter of possibly more than local interest, an article on "Théodore Mommsen; son Activité Littéraire à Zürich et sa Correspondance avec Charles Morel", by C. Seitz.

The Bohemian scholar, Count Lützow, improved an opportunity of helping to make his country better known to English-speaking people when he delivered last year at Oxford a series of lectures on the works of the historians who have recorded the annals of Bohemia. These lectures have since been published: *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (London, Frowde, 1905, pp. viii, 120). They extend from the time of the earliest chroniclers to the present generation, and provide such an introduction to Bohemian historiography as has not hitherto been available.

AMERICA.

The plan originally adopted of publishing *The American Nation* in groups of five or six volumes each has been abandoned, and the individual volumes will be issued in succession. Following Professor E. B. Greene's volume on *Colonial Commonwealths*, which has just appeared, will be *France in America*, by Dr. R. G. Thwaites, to come out this month, Professor G. E. Howard's *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, which will be issued in September, and Dr. C. H. Van Tyne's

The Revolution and Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *Confederation and Constitution*, which will be published in October.

Higginson's larger *History of the United States*, which in the original edition extended only to the close of Jackson's administration, has been brought down to 1905 by the addition of six chapters, written by Professor William MacDonald. The whole constitutes a readable and attractive one-volume history, which ought to supply the demand—if there be one—for a short and comprehensive narrative (New York, Harpers, 1905, pp. vii, 633).

We note the appearance of the second volume of Chancellor and Hewes's *The United States* (Putnams). The fourfold classification of subject-matter under the heads of Population and Politics, War, Industry, and Civilization is adhered to. The period covered is that from 1698 to 1774.

A new high-school text-book by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart has been added to the series of which he is the general editor. The volume, *Essentials in American History* (American Book Company), is especially prepared for the last year in the high-school. It is noteworthy for the careful consideration of such subjects as political geography, foreign relations with diplomacy as a factor in the settlement of controversies, and social and economic conditions, which are usually given scant or inadequate attention in secondary school texts. We note also the publication by Ginn and Company of a revised edition of D. H. Montgomery's *Students' American History*.

Among the latest government publications of interest to the student of history and politics may be mentioned *The Declaration of Independence. Illustrated Story of Its Adoption With the Biographies and Portraits of the Signers and of the Secretary of the Congress*, by William H. Michael, Chief Clerk of the Department of State; and volume II, *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865*, which gives the proceedings of the open and secret sessions of the Senate of the First Congress during the two sessions held at Richmond in 1862. Other publications worth noting include the *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1901*, and three volumes of maps published in connection with the work of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal: *United States Atlas*, *British Atlas*, *Atlas of Award*.

The latest addition to A. C. McClurg and Company's series of "Library Reprints of Americana" is Lahontan's *New Voyages to North-America*, reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and fully annotated by R. G. Thwaites. The foot-notes are admirably done, and a long introduction describes entertainingly the character of the writer and his narrative. Mr. Thwaites thinks the work "a satire upon European life and civilization", as well as "a narration of the author's adventures in new and unknown realms". Mr. Paltsits in this, as in preceding volumes of the series, contributes a scholarly and satisfying bibliography.

The ever interesting *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* is one of the new Temple Autobiographies published by Dutton. William MacDonald, as editor, contributes a bibliographical preface and biographical data for Franklin's later years.

Major Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes of the Revolution* originally appeared in two series, published in 1822 and 1828 respectively. A three-volume reprint was issued in 1865. A revised and illustrated edition in two octavo volumes is now put on the market by William Abbott, of New York.

"Classes of Operations of the Continental Navy of the American Revolution", by Charles Oscar Paullin, has been reprinted from the *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute*, volume XXXXI no. I.

Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, and the War on the Lakes (New Amsterdam Book Company), by Olin L. Lyman, is said to be based on much original research.

The Relations of the United States to the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838, the University of Michigan doctoral dissertation of Orrin Edward Tiffany, is reprinted from the Buffalo Historical Publications, volume VIII. The chapters dealing with the conditions on the border and the attitude of the Van Buren administration toward the violations of the neutrality laws seem especially enlightening.

Two biographies of Thomas H. Benton are of recent issue. To the American Crisis Biographies, edited by Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Joseph M. Rogers contributes a volume; and William M. Meigs, in *The Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Lippincott), has produced a readable account of the Missourian's career.

A popular and altogether eulogistic biography is Frank Abial Flower's *Edwin McMasters Stanton, Lincoln's Great War Secretary* (Akron, O., Saalfeld Publishing Company, 1905).

The military secretary's office of the War Department has issued a very important document—*Memorandum relative to the General Officers appointed by the President in the Armies of the Confederate States, 1861-1865*. It shows in tabular form the names of the general officers, date of appointments, date of rank, date of confirmation, and "remarks". Under the latter heading considerable valuable information on personal history is given.

A fourth edition of G. Cary Eggleston's *A "Rebel's" Recollections* has been published by Putnam. There is included an additional chapter on "The Old Régime in the Old Dominion".

Professor Walter L. Fleming, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va., solicits "information as to material to be found in old diaries, correspondence, newspapers, state documents, books privately printed, etc." dealing with the Reconstruction period. Such information is to be used in connection with a collection of documents, illustrative

of that era, announced for publication in September by the Arthur H. Clark Company.

Albert G. Robinson made three visits to Cuba during the years 1899-1902, in the interest of certain periodicals, and the results of his first-hand observations have been incorporated in a volume called *Cuba and the Intervention* (Longmans, 1905). The volume covers the various phases of American activity and gives valuable insight into the difficulties of the task confronting the American authorities.

An admirable book, partly in the field of history but largely in the field of politics and political science, is *Party Organization and Machinery*, by Jesse Macy (New York, The Century Company, 1904), one of the "American State Series". Students of political and constitutional history will find it of great service, not because it traces in detail the rise of parties, but because it treats the problems wisely and brings home to the reader forcibly the significance of party organization as a fact. This is one of the earliest attempts to discuss scientifically the make-up and movements of the parties that control government, and it is an entirely successful one.

A clear and useful statement of the administrative functions of the various departments of government is given in John A. Fairlie's *The National Administration of the United States of America* (Macmillan).

To the "American Citizen Series" has recently been added *Constitutional Law in the United States*, by Emlin McClain, Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa (New York, Longmans, 1905, pp. xxxviii, 438). It is an able, fresh, vigorous treatment of the subject, handled with assurance and with considerable novelty in method. It is devoted to a consideration of constitutional law in its limited sense, not touching on the practices that have grown up or on the important phases of "actual government", which are discussed by Professor Hart in another volume of the series.

The Bank and the Treasury (Longmans), by Frederick A. Cleveland, is an elaborate discussion of "the problem of providing a more 'sound' and 'elastic' system of current credit-funds".

Miss Frances G. Davenport, at present instructor in Vassar College, is preparing for publication a volume containing annotated texts of such treaties between European powers as have a bearing on the colonial or subsequent history of the United States.

Lynch Law. An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States (Longmans) is a historical study, in which the sociological motive is prominent, by James Elbert Cutler, instructor in economics in Wellesley College.

Two recent volumes which touch upon various points in the history of the negro and upon his present condition are: *The Aftermath of Slavery* (Small, Maynard, and Company), by William A. Sinclair, and *A Peculiar People* (Washington, W. C. Chase, Jr.), by Mrs. Arabella Virginia Chase.

The Library of Congress has published a timely volume of nearly five hundred pages, entitled *Copyright in Congress, 1789-1904*. It is prepared by Thorvald Solberg, and contains "a complete bibliography of all the bills relating to copyright which have been introduced to Congress, the resolutions and laws which have been enacted, and those reports, petitions, memorials, messages, and miscellaneous copyright documents which have been printed, together with a complete chronological record of all action taken in Congress, in any way relating to the subject of copyright, showing how each proposal has been dealt with".

The Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology consists of reproductions, in color, of drawings of the deities or Katcinas of the Hopi Indians by native artists, with comments by Jesse Walter Fewkes, and of three versions of the Iroquoian cosmology, translated by J. N. B. Hewitt. *The Twenty-second Annual Report* is in two volumes; the first is devoted to an account of "Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins", by Jesse Walter Fewkes, and to the second part of the monograph by Cyrus Thomas on "Mayan Calendar Systems". The second volume is devoted to "The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony", by Alice C. Fletcher.

The Dover, New Hampshire, Public Library has published a list of its books and pamphlets relating to New Hampshire. The list fills 172 pages, and includes many rare and valuable items.

Vermont has followed the worthy precedent of several states in publishing *Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to 1783* (Rutland, Vt., The Tuttle Company, 1904, pp. xx, 927). The work of compilation and editing is done by John E. Goodrich, under the authority of the state legislature. *The Revolutionary Soldiers of Redding, Ct., and the Record of their Services* is edited and published by W. Edgar Grumman (Hartford, Conn.).

The History of Hadley, Including the Early History of Hatfield, South Hadley, Amherst, and Granby, Massachusetts, by Sylvester Judd, was originally published in 1863. It is now being reprinted, with an introduction and genealogical additions, by H. R. Hunting and Company, of Springfield, Mass.

The Putnams have recently added to their series of volumes on historic rivers *The St. Lawrence River, Historical, Legendary and Picturesque*, by George Waldo Browne. It will probably well serve the purpose for which it was intended; it is a beautiful volume filled with interesting pictures. The text appears not to be inadequate, for one would hesitate to demand too close a distinction between legend and history, but no one can think the style good or graceful; it is strange that any writer should think even in recounting legend that it is good to say that "the westering sun was kissing the mountains on the farther view good night".

Not agreeable in diction and without foot-notes, *A History of the*

New York Iroquois (New York State Museum, Bulletin 78), by William M. Beauchamp, will not altogether appeal either to the popular reader or to the scholar. Quotations are very frequent. A series of reproductions of maps and parts of maps is included, beginning with the Charlevoix map of 1745.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is devoted largely to the printing of original documents. The most important of these comprises thirteen letters from members of the Continental Congress, selected by Miss J. C. Wylie, from the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There are letters from Gunning Bedford, William Duer, Abraham Clark, Josiah Bartlett, Silas Deane, Elias Boudinot, Daniel Jenifer, George Clymer, John Dickinson, William Grayson, John Langdon, and Samuel Chase, those by the last two being dated considerably later than the close of the old Congress; the other letters range from 1776 to 1785. Military matters, personal affairs, depreciation of the currency, and, to a limited extent, foreign relations, are the subjects mostly treated of in the letters. Two letters to James Wilson, from Alexander Hamilton and Reverend William Smith, written in 1789, contributed by Israel W. Morris, relate to the first election for president and vice-president. Two petitions, in facsimile, of citizens of Philadelphia county to the governor for protection from Indians, dated 1728, are from the state archives; while a letter from Robert Proud to his brother, 1778, four letters to John Dickinson from Thomas Willing and Benjamin Rush, 1796, and selections from the letter-book of Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States, are all from the collections of the Historical Society. Bishop Cammerhoff's narrative of a journey to Shamokin, Pennsylvania, in the winter of 1748, edited by John W. Jordan, shows the intelligent observation that marks the writings of most of the early Moravian clergy.

"The Colony of St. Mary, in Pennsylvania, North America", translated from a German work of 1846 (?) is printed in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* for April. It is accompanied by a map.

The April number of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* appears under the joint editorship of Mr. Edwin Mims and Mr. William H. Glasson, the former editor, Mr. John Spencer Bassett, having been compelled through stress of work to retire from the active management of the magazine. The articles in the present number are of general rather than historical interest; among them may be noted "The New North", by Hamilton Wright Mabie; "Sidney Lanier: Reminiscences and Letters", by Daniel Coit Gilman; and "Matthew Whitaker Ransom: a Senator of the Old Régime", by Robert Lee Flowers.

Recent additions to the Johns Hopkins University Studies are: *State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781*, by Beverly W. Bond, Jr., and *English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon, 1660-1667*, by Percy Lewis Kaye.

Much of the material in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April is documentary. The opening article, on "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734", contains extracts from the Journal of the Virginia Executive Council. There are continued instalments of "Virginia Legislative Papers"; "Virginia in 1639"; "Vestry Book of King William Parish"; "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence 1759-'70".

The biography of a Revolutionary soldier, Peter Francisco; "Letters of William T. Barry", throwing light on the administration of Jackson; and "William Gregory's Journal from Fredericksburg, Va., to Philadelphia, 30th of September, 1765, to 16th of October, 1765", appear in the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly*. These are in addition to the continuation of the "Diary of Col. Landon Carter" and the "Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College".

William E. Dodd, the editor, promises the early publication of the *Life and Writings of Spencer Roane, Chief Justice of Virginia, 1803-1822*, as no. 5 of the Branch Historical Papers.

A historical account of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, is contributed to the April number of the *West Virginia Historical Magazine*. Numerous other brief articles deal with family history.

It does not appear wholly clear why William Edwards Fitch should have chosen *Some Neglected History of North Carolina* (Washington, Neale Publishing Company, 1905) for his account of the Regulators and the Battle of Alamance. His purpose, as stated by himself, to prove the Battle of the Alamance to have been the first battle of the Revolution, seems to indicate that the neglect of North Carolina history referred to has been largely on the part of the author himself. The work is flimsy, incoherent, prejudiced, made up of quotations from such authorities as Moore, Wheeler, and speeches at the Guilford battle-ground, with frequent reference to the *North Carolina Colonial Records* to give a semblance of original research. The author states that the prejudice of Northern historians has prevented the acknowledgment of the Regulators as the real beginners of the Revolution, and conceives himself as peculiarly fitted to remedy the injustice on account of his descent from one of the Regulators, the fact of his having been born and reared in Orange county, and because he has "many times surveyed the ground made sacred by the blood of heroes". He unfortunately has not consulted—or if he has, has not thought it worth while to note—such works as Marshall Haywood's *William Tryon*, John Spencer Bassett's "The Regulators of North Carolina" in *American Historical Association Report, 1894*, Francis Nash's little pamphlet on Hillsboro, or Charles Lee Raper's *North Carolina*. Had he done so he would have discovered that the prejudice of which he complains on the part of Northern historians has manifested itself in at least four North-Carolinians.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues to print valuable documentary material. The April number has more of the Laurens correspondence, and of the Revolutionary records of the South Carolina Line. Henry A. M. Smith, in an article on "The Town of Dorchester in South Carolina—a Sketch of Its History", has made a careful study of records and diaries dealing with this once flourishing hamlet.

It is unfortunate that the editor of *The Colonial Records of Georgia*, the first two volumes of which were noted in our last number and are now before us, should not have profited by the mistakes of the editors of the *North Carolina Records*, which have made that series, now nearly completed, the despair of students. It is true that these first two volumes contain little material other than the Journal of the Trustees, and the Minutes of the Common Council of the Trustees, and so are less difficult to use than if their contents were more miscellaneous in character, but if the present method of editing is adhered to, it will be open to very grave criticism as soon as any considerable number of documents is included in each volume. What can be more exasperating than a constant page-heading like "Colonial Records"? Surely it would be a simple matter to make each page-heading descriptive of the material beneath it. Again, what possible excuse can there be for omitting a table of contents or for neglecting to insert marginal dates? Although it is undoubtedly a matter of considerable expense to supply each volume with an index, it may nevertheless be questioned whether such an omission is justifiable. In view of the fact that the publication of the *Records* must necessarily cover a period of years, it would appear but a reasonable demand to ask that each volume be equipped with all the necessary aids to its use. The publication of the *North Carolina Records* was commenced in 1886, and there are still five volumes to appear before the index volume can be sent to the printer, while the unnecessary labor that has thus been caused students of North Carolina history has been far greater than would have been required in preparing an index for each volume. The desirability of indicating fully the source of each document would appear to be evident, but the bracketed headings "From British Public Record Office", or "B. P. R. O. Board of Trade" are not sufficiently definite to enable the investigator to locate originals without considerable search. That Georgia should commence the publication of her early records was indeed to be desired; but it is fully as desirable that that publication should be attended by all the marks of careful editing and thoughtful scholarship.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries deserves much credit for her little volume recently published, bearing the title *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740*. The work is based almost wholly upon original sources, the most important of which are the archives of the Moravian church at Herrnhut. The relations between the Moravians and the Trustees of Georgia are plainly indicated, as are the reasons for the failure of the settlement so far as Georgia was concerned. It is pointed out that the attempt

in Georgia, unsuccessful though it was, was of great importance in establishing the Moravian church in America. Of especial interest should be noted the diary kept by Bishop Nitschmann during the voyage of the second company to Georgia, printed side by side with the journal of John Wesley, who made the voyage in the same vessel.

Thomas M. Owen has recently edited volume IV of the *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society*, containing the proceedings and papers of the society's annual meetings for 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903. The articles in this volume are of an unusually high standard, many of them bearing marks of careful scholarship. "Was Mobile Bay the Bay of Spiritu Santo?", by Peter Joseph Hamilton, is based on a careful examination of early maps, and discusses the reasons for deciding in the affirmative the question asked in the title of the article. "The Buford Expedition to Kansas", by Walter L. Fleming, contains a considerable amount of documentary material, and is accompanied by very full foot-notes. Dr. George Petrie in "What Will be the Final Estimate of Yancey?" discusses the Alabamian's political views and policy, while Gaius Westfield, Jr., contributes a somewhat elaborate article on "The French Grant in Alabama, a History of the Founding of Demopolis". The volume contains also a number of biographical articles, among which may be noted "Basil Manly, the Founder of the Alabama Historical Society", by Thomas M. Owen; "Bishop Richard Hooker Wilmer", by Walter C. Whitaker; "Henry W. Hilliard", by Miss Toccoa Cozart; and "William F. Samford", by George Petrie. This volume is a large one of over 600 pages, and is a fine specimen of book-making.

The *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* for January was delayed in publication. Under the title "De Leon's Expedition of 1689" Elizabeth Howard West has translated a document from *Memorias de Nueva España* bearing upon an attempt of De Leon to locate a French colony at Matagorda bay, on the Texas coast. One of the results of the exploration was the first Spanish settlement in Texas, in the following year. There is annexed an interesting contemporaneous map. "Explanation to the Public Concerning the Affairs of Texas, by Citizen Stephen F. Austin", is a translation of an 1835 Mexican pamphlet showing the attitude of Texas toward Mexico and toward Coahuila.

The Finances of the Texas Revolution, by Eugene C. Barker, is published by Ginn and Company. It is reprinted from the *Political Science Quarterly*, volume XIX, no. 4.

The History of the Medical Department of Transylvania University (Filson Club Publications, no. 20) is a companion volume to the eleventh publication of the Filson Club, which appeared in 1896. That volume dealt with the literary department of the university. Both were prepared by Miss Johanna Peter, from the manuscript history of the institution, left by her father, Doctor Robert Peter. The medical department constituted the second school of medicine in the United States, and

the teachers were prominent along political, educational, and scientific lines. The contents of the volume are chiefly biographical. It is needless to say that the typography and general make-up of the volume are excellent.

A welcome addition to the list of state historical periodicals is the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, published in Indianapolis. W. E. Henry, State Librarian, is the manager, and George S. Cottman, editor and publisher. The first number is unpretentious and promises well, including "The Journal of John Tipton", who in 1820 was selected as commissioner to locate the site for the state capital; "Works on Indiana History"; and a "List of Indiana Newspapers on File in the Indiana State Library".

The Department of History of the University of Illinois has recently been coöperating with the Board of Trustees in investigating the historical material to be found in the county archives of Illinois. Mr. Clarence W. Alvord has examined the papers in the St. Clair county archives at Belleville and found much interesting material, including records of the French occupation, and material illustrating the short period in which Illinois was a county of Virginia.

The *Annual Report*, 1904-1905, of the Chicago Historical Society, gives over thirty pages to recent manuscript and book accessions. There is also a brief account by the librarian of a visit to *L'Église de la Sainte Famille des Kaoquias*, "the oldest shrine still extant in Illinois". Mention is made of coöperation with the Missouri Historical Society in the compilation of a "List of Works on the Mississippi Valley in the Libraries of that Region".

A study of *The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862* by Mr. O. M. Dickerson, a Fellow of the Department of History in the University of Illinois during the year 1904-1905, has recently been published as no. 9 of the University Studies. The paper, based mainly on original materials, is a contribution to the study of Northern public opinion during the Civil War, while, in the field of political theory, special interest attaches to the debates in the convention with regard to its own claim of "sovereign" power, in the field of legislation and administration.

The appearance of the *Pathfinders of the West*, by Agnes C. Laut, has given rise to a great deal of discussion as to the places to be assigned the various explorers of the Mississippi. In this connection is to be noticed a contribution to the Minnesota Historical Society's Collections, volume X, part II, by the secretary, Warren Upham, entitled "Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota 1655-'56 and 1659-'60, and Their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River". There is an annotated bibliography of 107 books and papers attached. An author, subject, and personal index of the early volumes published by the society appears in the same part. Volume XI is given over to an illustrated work by J. V. Brower on "Itasca State Park".

Minnesota Pioneer Sketches (Minneapolis, H. H. S. Rowell, 1904, pp 371), by Frank G. O'Brien, is a volume of interesting reminiscences.

William Salter is the author of *Iowa, the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase, from its Discovery to the Admission of the State into the Union*, which, the preface says, is a record of the incidents in American history that made it "the first free state in the Louisiana Purchase".

Reports made to the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* by representatives of the various state historical societies show a commendable spirit of activity. Two important contributed articles in this number are: "The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa", by Jacob Van der Zee, and "The History of the Office of Governor in Wisconsin", by James D. Barnett.

Among the articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for April we note "The Struggle for the Half-Breed Tract", by B. L. Wicks.

Volume XIII of *Early Western Travels* is a reprint from the Philadelphia edition of 1821 of *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory during the year 1819*, by Thomas Nuttall (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company). Volumes XIV and XV give us the *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819, 1820*, compiled by Edwin James. These two volumes are backed "S. H. Long's Expedition", I and II. In spite of the carelessness with which the Long expedition was conducted in some respects, the narratives have their value and are of distinct interest. All the volumes contain contemporary maps and illustrations and like their predecessors are amply and intelligently edited.

Among the articles in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December we note "The Lessons of History and Evolution", by T. W. Davenport; a second instalment of the "Journal and Letters of David Douglas", recounting his trip to the northwest in 1824-1827, reprinted from *The Companion to the Botanical Magazine* of London, 1836; and the concluding part of Peter H. Burnett's "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer".

The United States Bureau of Census has published in four volumes a description of the people and geography of the Philippines. Some of the results of the census are republished in the *National Geographic Magazine* for April.

Volume IX of the University of Toronto Studies (Toronto, Morang and Company) is a *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada for the Year 1904*, edited by Professor George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. As in previous years, the book and periodical literature is carefully examined, and, on account of the size of the output, much is done within the 230 pages of large type and wide edges. There is an additional author-index of ten pages. Contents are stated, often at some length; point of view noticed and criticized; and often the reviewer fills in gaps from his own store of knowledge. The editing is well done, and the value of the whole is increased by its early publication.

The University of Toronto Library has published as no. 1 of volume III of "University of Toronto Studies" *A Colony of Émigrés in Canada, 1798-1816*, by Lucy Elizabeth Textor. This essay in a new field is of considerable interest; the author explains that she found but little material in print, and her description of the manuscript sources upon which the work is based is an important part of the bibliography which prefaces the monograph. In successive steps are sketched the character of the Comte de Puisaye, his plan and its support by the English government, the personnel of the company of émigrés, their journey, the settlement at Windham, the breakdown of the colonization scheme, the difficulties in securing titles to land, and the later fortunes of the individual colonists.


An elaborate bibliography in which critical and descriptive comments abound is *Essai sur les sources de l'histoire des Antilles françaises, 1492-1664*, by Jacques de Dampierre, published as volume VI of "Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes" (Paris, A. Picard et Fils, 1904). In the introduction the principal American bibliographies are described, while the body of the work is in three chapters; the first is devoted to descriptive works, the second to narratives, the third to diplomatic sources, among which are included public documents and the principal collections of archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *List of Bibliographies Contained in United States Public Documents from June, 1903, to May, 1904* (Library Journal, May); Charles Cheyney Hyde, *Agreements of the United States other than Treaties* (The Green Bag, April); Felix Klein, *La Séparation aux États-Unis*, the legal history of the separation of church and state (Le Correspondant, April 10); Henry Loomis Nelson, *The Pleasant Life of Père Marquette* (Harper's Magazine, June); Francis W. Shepardson, *John Paul Jones* (The World To-Day, June); Adrian H. Joline, *Martin Van Buren, the Lawyer* (The Green Bag, March); Ulrich B. Phillips, *Transportation in the Ante-Bellum South: an Economic Analysis* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); *The Everetts in England*: extracts from the letters and diaries of Edward Everett's daughters during his ministry, 1841-1845 (Scribner's Magazine, June); George P. Fisher, *Webster and Calhoun in the Compromise Debate of 1850* (Scribner's Magazine, May); Seymour D. Thompson, *Lincoln and Douglas: the Great Freeport Debate* (American Law Review, March); George P. Fisher, *A Visit to Washington on the Eve of the Civil War* (Scribner's Magazine, June); Thomas M. Semmes, *A Pupil's Recollection of "Stonewall" Jackson* (Century, June); William Garrott Brown, *The Tenth Decade of the United States* (Atlantic Monthly, May and June); Charles H. Ambler, *Disfranchisement in West Virginia*, I (Yale Review, May); James Bain, *Canadian Public Documents* (Canadian Magazine, June); Paul Fauchille, *Le conflit de limites entre le Brésil et la Grande-Bretagne et la sentence arbitrale du Roi d'Italie*, with maps (Revue générale de Droit International Public, January).

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